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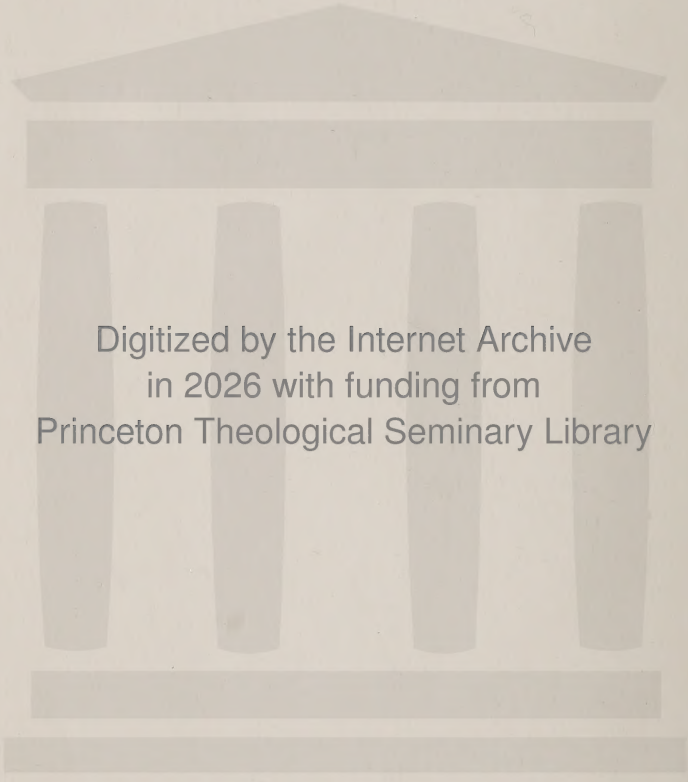
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ESTHER AND AHASUERUS:

AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE PERSONS SO NAMED.

FOLLOWED BY

A HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS THAT ENDED AT THEIR MARRIAGE.

WITH NOTES AND AN INDEX TO THE TWO PARTS:
ALSO AN APPENDIX.

BY

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IN TWO HALF-VOLUMES.
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PREFACE.

In his youth, the conclusions of a book then recently published were so unpalatable to the author of the present work, as to set him to ascertain for himself the position in history of the Esther and Ahasuerus of the Jews. He was soon satisfied. A quarter of a century afterwards, at a moment when, incapacitated by failure of sight, he was preparing to quit employment in the East India Company's service—meeting with the *memoranda* of his former historical study, and wishing to preserve them in a more permanent form—he was introduced to the labours of Sir H. C. Rawlinson on the Akhæmenian Inscriptions. The brief task proposed grew into a long one: he persevered; but his progress has been necessarily slow, though he has used few books besides those on his own shelves. One great advantage, however, the work has derived from its author's inability to get on so fast as might many another, having equal leisure at command. He had early been favoured by Mr. Edwin Norris with a complete list of the Babylonian months, as they stand in the Calendars that then had come to light; and aided thereby, he had determined aright the order of those Persian months by which fortunate events are dated in two out of the three languages of the great Behistun Inscription. But as to another important matter—the correspondence of those months with the seasons of the year—he had arrived at erroneous conclusions, and so had placed the dates of that Inscription ten months too high in the era before Christ, when (near 400 pages of this work having been already printed) he obtained, from the kindness of the same eminent scientific philologer and palæographical interpreter, the newly-found Assyrian names of the Babylonian months, and thereby a knowledge, possessing more than its expected value, of the corresponding seasons of the natural year,—decipherment having

shown those Assyrian month-names to be the same that have been employed by the Jews ever since the Return from Babylon. Therefore, among the "Corrections" which follow the Appendix, the reader's attention is solicited in particular to those that refer to such dates in the history of the kings Cambyses, Gaumáta the Magian, and Darius son of Hystaspes, as may be found in the first 400 pages of the work now submitted to his judgment.

BRUSSELS, *December the 4th*, 1867.

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INTRODUCTION.

MANY have been the vagaries of casual conjecture, many the erroneous conclusions to which hasty enquiry has led, on a question of very great historical importance; namely, where in the Persian annals is the real position of that history of Esther which is found among the records of ancient Israel. Yet, if a confutation be afforded in the following pages of every inaccurate opinion which the case admits of; and if the true identity of the royal personages exhibited in the book "Esther" be likewise solidly established, the reader will not complain, although the history of errors on the question be not investigated, nor each one of them appropriated to its proper patrons.

Suffice it, then, to say, that the earliest history of the Jewish people, compiled for the information of the outer world, since that struggle with the Romans which led to the destruction of the ancient Mosaic polity, is here at variance with a similar work produced in the second quarter of the present century; while yet, neither the old Jewish nor the new Anglican author has represented what appears to be demonstrably the truth of the matter.

Writing when Domitian was both Emperor and Supreme Pontiff (Pontifex Maximus) at Rome, and when S. John still survived, the last of the Lord's apostles and the last of the elders in His universal Bishopric upon earth, the Jewish priest Josephus made that husband of Esther who

ruled from India to the Ethiopia on the Upper Nile over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces, to be Artaxerxes the Long-armed, the son of Xerxes, or (as he himself designates the king) "Kurush, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes son of Xerxes."[a] It is to be observed that Kurush is found to be the best equivalent of the Aryan form of the name which Josephus, like other Greek authors, and modern Europeans, after the example of Latin authors, write Κῦρος or Cyrus.

To this the earlier view Josephus may have been led by the Septuagint version of the book Esther. For, instead of the strange-sounding appellation given to the king by the Hebrew author—not Kurush or Khurush or even Khshurush, but Ahasuerus, or rather AKHaSHUeRUSH, or better still, by omission of the vowels due to subsequent editorial pointing of the author's text, Akhshurush—the Hellenist translator had substituted Artaxerxes, a name of Persian monarchs very familiar to literary Greeks and to their Roman, Jewish and other pupils.

The identity of Esther's Ahasuerus with Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, thus of old asserted, has certainly been the more extensively admitted in England for the authority of our countryman Prideaux, who, in his well-known work, has followed the lead of the Septuagint Esther and of Josephus's history in this matter.[b] But at present, Joseph

[a] Joseph. Ant. xi. 6. 1. Josephus perhaps supposed *Kurush* (Cyrus) to be an equivalent of Khshurush, and this to be an equivalent of Akhshurush (Ahasuerus). Such, it will be seen below, is our own conclusion. I find that Mr J. W. Bosanquet, omitting the vowel points, reads the Hebrew name as I have done, *Akhshurush*. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. xvii. p. 53.

[b] Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, book v. part i. On this identification of Esther's lord with Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, Prideaux builds the notion that Ezra and Nehemiah owed the king's favour to his queen, though they represent it as God's blessing on themselves. Josephus (Ant. xi. 5) considering all the matters of record in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah to be earlier than those of the book Esther, had made Xerxes son and successor of Darius, to be the patron of Ezra and Nehemiah. Prideaux takes Hadassah to be the name of the maiden, and Esther for the name of the queen; though the reverse appears to be the truth.

Scaliger's theory, that the king Ahasuerus is Xerxes son of Darius, and that Esther is the wicked queen of Xerxes, Amestris,[c] appears, in a modified form at least, to be most in vogue. About thirty years ago an Anglican writer adopted it entire and gave it currency in a History of the Jews.[d] Lightened of its libel on Queen Esther, and confined to the supposition that her king and Xerxes are the same person, it finds favour with many authors, of whom we may name the German Gesenius and our own George Rawlinson.[e] And certainly, as a chronological

[c] Calmet ascribes this opinion to Joseph Scaliger de Emend. Temp. lib. vi. also to Drusius, to Calvisius and to Sicard.

[d] In the *Family Library;* see second edition, Lond. 1830 vol. ii. 16–18. The author cites particularly two synchronisms which Eichhorn believed himself to have discerned, but which we shall show, cannot both of them be admitted at once. He writes; "To the reign of Darius's successor, Xerxes, we assign, with some of the most learned German writers, the remarkable history of Esther. The Ahasuerus of Scripture cannot be Darius Hystaspes; nor do we trace the character of the mild and humane Artaxerxes Longimanus in the cruel despot, &c." The misnomer Darius Hystaspes instead of the correct Latin designation 'Darius Hystaspis' or the English 'Darius Hystaspes' son,' can plead for the use of it, antiquity as well as convenience. It seems to have produced that error of the modern Persian legends by which the king is called Gushtasp; and the similar error of Lactantius where he calls the same king Hydaspes. For shortness, the term employed in Darius's own inscriptions, *Dârayavush Vishtâspahya putra* was made *Dârayavush Vishtâspahya*, and this, as the Perso-Aryan language lost its inflexions, appears to have become *Dârayavush Vishtaspa.* For, to signify, as Hyde says, *Zeratusht* son of *Esfi(n)tamân* (or Zoroaster son of Spitamenes) the book called *Erdaviráf-Nâma* (a book as old, or derived from accounts as old, as king Ardeshir Babekan) writes *Zeratusht Sfitamân:* see Hyde, de Relig. Vet. Persarum, p. 18. Perhaps it is more to our purpose that, in the book Sadder, he is called not only Zeratusht Espintaman (as in capp. 89, 90, 91) but Espintaman alone, as in capp. 90, 94. See Hyde's epitomized Latin version of the book Sadder, in the work above cited.

[e] For Gesenius, see his Hebrew Lexicon under the word *Ahasuerus,* אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ This, he says, seems to be the Hebrew form of the name Xerxes, which in the Persian inscriptions of the Akhæmenian kings is read *Khshayârshâ.* Under the word *Esther,* אֶסְתֵּר he says, that this name was given to the virgin whom Xerxes made his queen. For George Rawlinson, see his Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 556 (note), p. 565, (note)

conclusion only, with or without the portion of it which affects Queen Esther, the opinion which Milman has made his own is more defensible than that of the Jewish historian. Moreover, the authority of the Septuagint (if in such a matter it be of any importance) may be cited, as well for identifying the two names Xerxes and Ahasuerus, as for supposing with Josephus, that Esther's Ahasuerus is no other than Artaxerxes; since in the original Greek version of the book of Daniel (a version not less faulty than the Greek Esther) the name Xerxes is put for the name Ahasuerus at the beginning of the ninth chapter. This the reader may see in Tischendorf's Septuagint, which contains the older Greek version, as well as Theodotion's Daniel, its substitute in what we may call the received or Vulgate Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures.

In the present volume, however, the opinion of Archbishop Usher will be vindicated, not as it regards the two queens Vashti and Esther, but so far as it refers to the king Ahasuerus; in which respect it is also the opinion of the learned French Dominican Calmet.[f] We

and more especially vol. iv. p. 264. See also his Bampton Lectures (for 1859) pp. 185–188, and notes thereon pp. 456, 457. That Esther was Amestris he admits to be very improbable: he rather supposes Vashti to have been Amestris. Supported by his distinguished brother Sir H. C. Rawlinson, he insists on the identity of the name *Khshayârsha* (Xerxes) with the name Ahasuerus. We admit that in the Hebrew form of this name, the first letter was added merely to facilitate the pronunciation of the Persian double letter *Khsh*: but that, because the substitution of *v* (ו) for *y* (י) is a common dialectic peculiarity, it is probable the Hebrews did this with *Khshayârsha* though they did it not with *Dârayavush* (Darius), we cannot admit.

[f] For Usher, see his *Annales Vet. et Nov. Testamenti* (Genevæ A. D. 1722.) In the former part at page 85, he makes Ahasuerus to be Darius son of Hystaspes, and Vashti to be Atossa. At page 87, he makes Esther to be Artystônê, though he had noticed the identity of the names Hadassah and Atossa. At page 86, he chimerically imagines the *Artakhshashta*, or Artaxerxes, of Ezra vi. 14, to be a colleague of Darius's, namely Intaphernes. For Calmet, see his *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l' ancien et du nouveau Testament*, tome 3 (Paris, 1724) pp. 517, 521, 539.

shall shew that the king Ahasuerus, who married Esther, is no other than that *Dârayavush son of Vishtâspa*, or Darius son of Hystaspes, by whom, as Josephus has rightly related,[g] the Jews had been permitted to complete what the commission of the great *Kurush*, or Cyrus, had charged them to undertake, the re-building of Jehovah's temple at Jerusalem. It will be further shewn that Esther is Darius's famous queen Atossa. To this purpose of two-fold identification, will be devoted the dissertation which forms the first of the two parts of our subject in the present volume.

In the latter of the two we subjoin a history of Median and Persian affairs for five and thirty eventful years, from the birth of Darius son of Hystaspes to the end of his seventh regnal year; and though, under the three preceding kings, for the first twenty-eight years of the period, the narrative is confined to such events, remaining on record, as could be connected with the life of Darius, then a private man, this compilation may yet serve as an example of the uses which students may derive already from the decypherment and translation of Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and other ancient Asiatic records. Short as this period is, we shall be able to arrange within its limits all the materials furnished for Darius's history by the Hebrew books of Ezra, of Haggai, and of Zechariah; by the third book of Herodotus; by the first four columns of the Bisitun, or Behistun, trilingual inscription; and by the first two divisions of the period over which the Hebrew book "Esther" extends. The order of the arrangement is to be as nearly that of the times as may be allowed, partly by collating the tale which the Behistun sculpture presents in dumb-shew with that which the decipherers have made vocal in the surrounding inscriptions; but above all, by the aid of the Perso-Babylonian Calendar of months.

g Joseph. Antiq. xi. 4. The notion, revived of late, and incidentally refuted below in these pages, that the Darius under whom the temple was completed, was Darius the Bastard, son of Artaxerxes "the long-armed," was Scaliger's, and is refuted by Prideaux in his *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 21, 22, &c.

Our acquaintance with this Calendar was at first derived, by the help of a key which Herodotus has furnished, from the Behistun Inscription alone. But what we had thus learnt has been confirmed by the list of Assyrian months for which we have since been indebted to the kindness of Mr Edwin Norris. On the whole we hope to have constructed out of fragments, some long known, some recently disinterred, the most exact skeleton hitherto available of a portion of the history of Darius Hystaspes' son, particularly important to the student of Sacred history.

THE FIRST PART.

THE ESTHER AND AHASUERUS OF THE HEBREWS SOUGHT FOR AND IDENTIFIED IN PERSIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

I.

FROM this brief survey of the volume, let us return to the proper subject of the first part of it; which is, to establish our two-fold conclusion, that the king Ahasuerus spoken of in the canonical Hebrew record Esther, is Darius son of Hystaspes, and that the person from whom the book receives its name is Atossa. We shall establish first the identity of the king, and afterwards that of Esther.

In order to the identification of the king, let us begin by observing, that before we fix upon the individual sovereign intended in the book "Esther," a more general question may be very properly settled, that is, Whether he was of the Median or of the Persian nation. Or, to put it more explicitly,—Did Esther's husband belong to that line of kings of the Medo-Persian monarchy which closes with Daniel's Darius the Mede, the same whom Xenophon calls by the name commonly Romanized Cyaxares, that is, Kuakhshara son of Astyages, or was he one of those Perso-Median sovereigns, of whom the last was the Darius overthrown by Alexander the Macedonian, while the first was he for whom the broken pillars around his tomb at Murghâb, the ancient Pasargadæ, still speak both in Aryan and in Kissian, with the four times re-

peated inscription, "I am Kurush the king, the Hakhâmanishian." Of this voice from the tomb, be it observed by the way, that with its names more familiarly, but less accurately spelt, its meaning will be thus exhibited, "I am Cyrus the king the Akhæmenian." [a]

But to the question,—Which dynasty did Esther's Akhshurush belong to, we answer at once, that he was a Perso-Median not a Medo-Persian monarch. For we observe that the writer of the book "Esther" calls this king's subjects "Persians and Medes," or calls his empire "Persia and Media"—titles which imply Persian ascendancy; whereas another, telling of his own times, while Belshazzar reigned the last of the Chaldæan kings at Babylon, and while, for the two years which followed the capture of their royal city by Cyrus, the realm of the Chaldæans had for its king Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes,—the prophet Daniel calls the united nations, "Medes and Persians;" expressing by this reversed order, what the fact of the succession of

[a] See the Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 270, and vol. xv. p. 148. In George Rawlinson's Herodotus vol. i. p. 351, note, is given a description of the tomb, and an engraved view of it. From this view, however, the pillars are excluded which mark the bounds of the area wherein the tomb stands, and which present the inscription to the visitor. Mr Rawlinson borrows from the account and sketch given by Ker Porter, *Travels* vol. i. pp. 498–506. In Ker Porter's or some other sketch which I have seen, not so many as seven steps are visible, as in Mr Rawlinson's. But Sir H. C. Rawlinson on the Birs Nimrud, or the great temple of Borsippa near Babylon, (Journal R. A. S. vol. xviii. p. 24) compares with this temple, for the general plan of it, the tomb of Cyrus, which, says he, is built in seven successive stages, of which the inferior are of much greater height than the upper, rising one above the other, and the seventh serving as a pedestal for the tomb. If these seven stages are, as Sir Henry supposes, the seven planetary spheres of the system to which the earth belongs, the plan of the tomb would seem to intimate that the departed king was gone to God, whether God dwelt above or at the centre of the spheres. The chapel of the Babylonian god Nebo, eldest son of the god Merodakh, which Sir Henry supposes to have crowned the seventh stage of the temple of the spheres at Borsippa, would originally imply no more for Nebo. So, too, the similarly situated chapel of Belus at Babylon. The whole building at Babylon is called the tomb of Belus by Strabo.

Darius proves to have subsisted still, the original supremacy of the Medes.

For Daniel's custom just alleged, the reader is referred to Daniel v. 28; vi. 8, 12, 15, in which four passages we have "Medes and Persians;" also, to a fifth passage, Dan. viii. 20, where we read, "the kings of Media and Persia." In all these places the English Version faithfully represents the order of the original terms, which are, according to the vowel-pointing of the Rabbis, Mâdâi and Pâràs. For the inverted order of the names—the new style of the dynasty founded by the great Cyrus and overthrown by Alexander the Macedonian, the following phrases are our authority,—all derived from the book Esther,—"the power of Persia and Media;" (Esth. i. 3;) "princes of Persia and Media;" (Esth. i. 14;) "the ladies of Persia and Media;" (Esth. i. 18;) "the laws of the Persians and the Medes;" (Esth. i. 19.) In these four passages the English version expresses exactly the order of the names in the Hebrew.

These, be it noted by the way, appear to be ancestral names applied to the descended nations and their lands. Madai, the ancestor of the Medes, is mentioned by Moses in Gen. x. 2, and Paras, an ancestor or primitive chief of the Persians, is acknowledged in the Parsa (Πέρσης) of Herodotus vii. 61. Modern critics who take such ancestral personages to be, all of them, the fictions of posterity, seem to err as rashly as the ancients did when they assigned to every nation a progenitor having the later ethnic appellation for his proper name. Such a progenitor was in this or that case erroneously assumed; but the guess was founded on the notorious fact, which indeed most naturally came to pass, that the early nations called themselves after ancestors, as they called their lands after themselves.

This order of precedence between the two nations which we have cited from the book Esther, agrees with the order used in the great trilingual inscription sculptured by Darius Hystaspes' son's command on the rock at Bisitun or Behistun, and which has been transcribed, deciphered

and translated for this and future generations by the labours of Rawlinson, Norris and others.[b] Here the empire of which the provinces or minor nations had been previously enumerated, to the number of three and twenty, is several times summarily termed, "Persia and Media and the other provinces."[c]

II.

That the Persians and Medes were, moreover, considered to be an united people, superior to the other nations, the provincials of the empire, appears from Darius's observation as to the reign of Gaumâta the Magian; "There was not a man, Persian nor Mede nor even of us the descendants from Hakhâmanish, who would attempt to dispossess Gaumâta before I came."[d] Again, that they were considered, along with a population descended from more ancient occupiers of their proper domains, to be an united kingdom, of which the other countries, as Babylonia, were appurtenances, appears from this expression of Darius's;[e] "While I was in Persia and Media, the Babylonians revolted for the second time." The idea of an united kingdom is evident here; for (unless we suppose the king not to have known exactly at what time the revolt broke out) he could not have described himself as being at a certain date in Persia and in Media, without regarding the two as constituting one country. Indeed, if it were possible that he could be ignorant of the precise date of the revolt, and he therefore was uncertain in which of the two countries

[b] For Sir H. C. Rawlinson on the Behistun inscription, see principally Journal R. A. S. vols. x. and xi. and note appended to vol. xii. In these the Aryan version is treated. See also vol. xiv. for the Babylonian version. For Mr Edwin Norris's share, see vol. xv. where the Kissian version is treated.

[c] See Beh. Insc. Col. i. paras. 10, 11, 12, and 14.

[d] Beh. Insc. Col. i. para. 13.

[e] Beh. Insc. Col. iii. para. 13. Compare "Tyre and Sidon" for Phœnicia in S. Matthew xv. 21. S. Mark vii. 24. S. Luke vi. 17.

he was, when it broke out, he should have said, "While I was in Persia *or* in Media," if he desired to mark the uncertainty.

The union between the Persians and the Medes, and the superiority of the two to the rest of the nations of their empire, are facts which explain, and are confirmed by other observations. The forces of Persia and Media are alone specified, when, referring to the revolt in the proper country of the Medes, Darius causes it to be recorded, that the army which he had with him in Babylonia remained faithful.[f] Again, when after the death of the Median aspirant to the throne once filled by Cyaxares son of Phraortes, his claim to be the legitimate heir was again set up by a Sagartian adventurer, it is recorded that Darius sent against him a force of "Persians and Medes" under the command of a Mede.[g] Likewise, it is related, that the second Persian revolt was encountered by an army of "Persians and Medes," which Darius confided to a Persian commander.[h]

Now, in all these passages which we have cited as intimating the union of the two nations and of their proper territories; also, the superiority of the two over the other provinces of the empire, and, in the imperial armies, over all other contingents, we must further observe that the precedence or first place is uniformly assigned to Persia. The reason is apparent. It is that the king Darius was a Persian, and, no less than the preceding Persian kings Kambujiya and Kurush, or Cambyses and Cyrus, of the race of Hakhâmanish or Akhæmenes.

III.

BEFORE we quit this part of the subject, it may be added in explanation of the union between the two nations (whether Medes or Persians had the precedence) that the leading tribes in both countries were of common language

[f] Beh. Insc. Col. ii. para. 6.
[g] Beh. Insc. Col. ii. para. 14.
[h] Beh. Insc. Col. iii. para. 6.

and descent, namely, Aryan. That the Medes claimed to be Aryans is attested by Herodotus;[a] and that the proper Medes were at least a Japhetic race, appears from the venerable testimony of Moses the legislator and great prophet of ancient Israel.[b] That the Persians were also Aryans, is proved by the incontestible evidence of their king Darius son of Hystaspes. For in the inscription obtained by Mr Westergaard with a telescope from the king's tomb which survives at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, near the site of the ancient Persepolis, Darius has written himself at once "a man of the house of Hakhâmanish," "a Persian, the son of a Persian," and "an Aryan of Aryan race."[c] Auramazdâ, too, the great and good god, whom the king, in his Behistun inscription,[d] opposes to "the god of lies," and to whom, in the outset of the inscription on his tomb, he ascribes the creation of heaven and earth and of man,[e] no less than on every occasion his own successes and grandeur, he twice designates "god of the Aryans" in the Kissian transcript of his inscription at

[a] Herod. vii. 62.

[b] See Genesis x. 2, with the comment of Josephus in Antiq. i. 6. § 1.

[c] See Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 292, for the Aryan copy; and vol. xv. p. 150, for the Kissian. The Babylonian or more properly the Assyrian transcript taken like the others by Westergaard was published in the "Memoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord," 1844, in Plate xviii. Afterwards a more perfect copy was obtained by Tasker. In this inscription, given in Roman character and translated into Latin and English by H. Fox Talbot in Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. pp. 261–273, it is remarkable that the clause "an Aryan of Aryan race" is omitted.

[d] Beh. Inscr. Col. iv. para. 4. Explain the Aryan by aid of the parallel Kissian, beginning at line 61 of the third column; also by aid of Rawlinson's note, on revisiting the rock, in Journal R. A. S. vol. xii. p. vi.

[e] Xerxes has left us a similar acknowledgment in an inscription at the foot of Mount Elwend, the ancient Orontes, in the immediate vicinity of Hamadan, the old Agbatana. See Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 285 and 319. Also, in three inscriptions at Persepolis on buildings erected by him; also, on a rock at Van; also, in an inscription on a building at Persepolis, in which he commemorates his father as the builder; pp. 323–337. The fourth of the lineal successors of Xerxes, Artaxerxes Ochus, repeats the formula, p. 341.

Behistun,[f] that is, for the information of those who spoke the Kissian language.

Observe, too, that Darius himself, in a detached inscription at Behistun which exists in the Kissian language only,[g] and therefore was addressed by the king to the Kissians and their kindred tribes in particular, speaking of a tablet in Aryan, must mean thereby the language of the Persians and Medes, that is, his own language.

Further, Darius's testimony that the Persians were Aryans, agrees very well with the report of Herodotus that of old they were called by their neighbours, and they called themselves, Ἀρταῖοι.[h] For Ἄριοι and Ἀρταῖοι, that is, Aryans and Artayans, applied to Medes and Persians respectively, are appellations which may be derived from the same Sanskrit root *Ri*. They may signify "honourable and honoured." And here it may be observed, that the Persians must be believed to have been Aryans, not only because Darius calls himself at once a Persian and an Aryan and his language Aryan, but because the decipherers and translators of the inscriptions in their language, the leading language in the trilingual inscriptions, have shown it to be a sister dialect of Sanscrit, the language of the Indo-Aryan race.

Thus have we shewn the secret and source of the union between the Persians and the Medes to be, that they were

[f] See Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 130, Col. iv. paras. 12 and 13, "God of the Aryans" is omitted in the Aryan, probably as unnecessary. But that it is not added in the Assyrian version, for which fact we have Norris's authority, is more surprising. It would appear that the communication was thought useful in addressing his subjects of Kissian race, but useless in the case of those with whom the king communicated by the Assyrian language. Compare the omission in the Assyrian of the Tomb inscription, of that particular by which Darius magnified his birth in addressing the Aryan and the Kissian races, that he was an Aryan of Aryan race.

[g] See the inscription, marked L. in Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 135, where he speaks of a Tablet in Aryan.

[h] According to Dr Donaldson, Journal R. A. S. vol. xvi. p. 4, that frequent initial element in old Persian names *arta* is the perfect passive participle of the root *ri*.

both of Aryan race.[i] But to our observations in proof of this fact, we will add some other particulars which we owe to the first volume of George Rawlinson's Herodotus, and have gleaned thence since the first composition of this work. The Medes are said to be invariably called Arians by Armenian writers.[j] On the other hand, the traditions of the Persians bring their own ancestors from Aria. Thus, in the first Fargard of the Vendidad, the primæval seat of the Persians whence their migrations commence, is called *Airyanem vaejo*, "the source or native land of the Arians."[k] The similarity of the language of the Medes with the Persian was noticed by Alexander's naval commander Nearchus and by Strabo.[l] The fact thus alleged, is also attested by the entire list of authentic Median names, which are distinctly referable to Arian roots, and have a close resemblance to the names in common use among the Persians.[m] Isolated Median words the meaning of which is known, lead to the same conclusion. Thus *spaka*, which according to Herodotus meant "a dog," has the same sense in Zend and in some other Persian dialects. Again, Ἀστυάγης (in Armenian Asdahaga) the proper name in Herodotus and Xenophon, of a king of the Medes, on the authority of Moses of

[i] Hence some ethno-genealogists made *Parsa* or Πέρσης to be a son of *Mada* or Μῆδος. See Eustathius's commentary on the Periegesis of Dionysius in vol. ii. of C. Müller Minor Gr. Geographers, (Didot, Paris.)

[j] We are referred to Moses of Chorene i. 28, and are bid to compare Quatremere's Histoire des Mongols, tom. i. 241, note 76.

[k] On this point we are referred to Prichard's Nat. History of Man, p. 165; also to Max Muller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 29 note.

[l] The testimony of Strabo xv. 2. § 8 is cited :—

Ἐπεκτείνεται δὲ τοὔνομα τῆς Ἀριανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἔτι τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον Βακτρίων καὶ Σογδιανῶν· εἰσὶ γάρ πως καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν.

The testimony of Nearchus is cited thus from Strabo xv. 2. § 14 :—

Νέαρχος τὰ πλεῖστα ἔθη καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον τῶν Καρμανιτῶν, Περσικά τε καὶ Μηδικὰ εἴρηκε.

[m] We are referred to the analysis of Persian and Median names at the end of book vi. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.

Chorene is believed to have had the meaning of the Zend *Aj-dahak* (nom. *Ajis-dahako)* that is, "biting snake." The term is used symbolically, it is said, for the Median nation, throughout the Zendavesta, and is used in Persian for "a dragon" at the present day. Lastly, there is another important argument derived from the identity of the two races, which, when they speak of Greece invaded by the Persians, is presumed by Herodotus, Thucydides, Æschylus and Aristophanes, in their use of the terms Mede, Medism, Median war.[n] They use the appellation which belonged to the power when their nation knew it first, particularly when Darius the Mede was king, and Cyrus the Persian, general, seeming to think, that the later rule of the Persian line of kings made no such change in the body of it as obliged them to take it for a new power and to describe it by a new ethnic name.

IV.

Having, then, explained the close union of the Persians and Medes by the fact that the two nations were alike of Aryan race, let us return to the matter of the precedency which each in turn possessed over the other. We have offered good proof, that, after Darius the Mede the son of Ahasuerus was succeeded at Babylon by Cyrus the Persian, the style of the empire was changed from the designation "Medes and Persians" to that of "Persians and Medes." But to this it may be objected that in one passage of the book Esther, namely Esther x. 2. we have an appeal which our Church version renders faithfully thus; "Are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia;" though the matters of record referred to, are of the same reign in which the empire has hitherto been styled "Persians and Medes" or "Persia and Media." However, it is a sufficient reply,

[n] See George Rawlinson's Essays (third and eleventh) appended to the first book of his Herodotus; the essay On the Chronology and History of the great Median empire, and the essay On the Ethnic Affinities of the nations of Western Asia.

that in this particular case, where the Chronicles of the united nations are spoken of, whether those διφθέραι βασιλικαί, or royal parchments, of Ktesias (as cited by Diodorus ii. 32) or inscriptions on stone and on baked clay, (of which the latter at least would be portable as described in Esther vi. 1.) it was natural and proper to mention the nations, not in the order of the rank they then in the days of Esther possessed, but in the order of the times of their supremacy. The Chronicles of the Medes existed before the Chronicles of Persia, which indeed were a continuation of the Median. We have all learnt from Herodotus and other Greek writers, that before the time of Cyrus, the two nations were governed in chief by a succession of Median kings.[a] And with that testimony agrees a vision of the fortunes of this empire and of the Macedonian after it, which was foreshewn by the Almighty to Daniel the prophet at Shushan the royal fortress in the province of Elam, the very scene of the book Esther, but in the third year of the reign of Belshazzar, when the Chaldæan kingdom at Babylon was yet unconquered and Elam was subject to it. In this vision the figure of the Medo-Persian empire, into which Babylon was soon to merge, was a ram which had horns, and the horns high, but one higher than the other, and the higher came up last.[b] Accordingly, as to this term by which the royal records are described in Esther x. 2, "the Chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia," we say, that the order of the names corresponds, as it ought to do, with the order of the epochs when the horns of the Aryan race,—those two principal nations, the Medes and the Persians—successively arose or became pre-eminent. So that the name of Media in this text signifies the Medo-Persian, and that of Persia the Perso-Median kingdom. It is in this manner Josephus speaks, when he tells us, though inaccurately, that at Agbatana were buried the Median and Persian and Parthian kings down to his time.[c] In like manner, in

[a] See Herod. i. 102–130; Æschylus in the Persæ 765–785; Ktesias in Diodorus ii. 32–34; Strabo xv. 3. § 23; xv. 1. § 2; xi. 13. § 5.

[b] Daniel viii. 1–4, 20, 21.

[c] Antiq. x. 11. § 7.

Dan. x. 1, the words, "in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia" signify, "in the third year of Cyrus king of the Persians and Medes and other nations," that is, in B. C. 534, not in the third year after the deposition of Astyages king of the Medes, which deposition (according to Herodotus) happened twenty-nine years before the accession of Cambyses son of Cyrus or in B. C. (529 + 29 =) 558. In B. C. 556 Cyrus, whether under-king of the Persians in particular or not, was abroad commander in chief of the Medes and Persians; in which capacity he overthrew the Lydian monarchy in B. C. 554, and extended the Median conquests to the Ægæan, involving the Asiatic Greeks in the common subjection. It was the confusion of these two dates which led to the common Jewish mistake, indicated by a speech recorded in the New Testament, that their temple, which the Messiah the Lord Jesus entered and glorified, as it had been foretold to them through Haggai, had been forty-six years in building. The title "king of Persia" is applied by Ezra also, as by Daniel. Ezra applies it to Cyrus, to the Magian usurper, to Darius son of Hystaspes, and to Artaxerxes son of Xerxes.[d] In a manner not very dissimilar, Darius son of Hystaspes in the inscriptions at Behistun (which are probably the earliest of his extant inscriptions) gives himself this title of "king of Persia," both in the detached legend over the head of his figure in the sculptured tablet, and in the repetition of the same with which the first column of the great inscription itself commences. Both begin thus, "I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the provinces." Afterwards by him and his successors the title "king of Persia" was omitted in their inscriptions, and to the title "king of the provinces" was sometimes subjoined a claim to universal sovereignty in the title "king of this great earth."

We have now sufficiently accounted for the exceptional

[d] See Ezra i. 1, 2; iii. 7; iv. 3, 5, 7, 24; vi. 14; vii. 1. Add Ezra ix. 9, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 22, 23.

precedence of the name of Media found once in the book Esther in this term, "Chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia." It appears, therefore, that the order of names, everywhere else employed in that book, implies the Persian supremacy; and it follows, that the king Ahasuerus or Akhshurush, the husband of Esther, was a king of the Perso-Median dynasty. It would be groundless and unfair to suspect that the author of the book "Esther" lived so long after the date of the events which he relates, that (like the author of the book "Judith," in Judith xvi. 10,) by an unconscious anachronism he bestowed the style of the Persian kingdom on the previous kingdom of the Medes.

V.

BEFORE proceeding with the identification of this Perso-Median king, we may here observe, that what we have called the style characteristic of the times of the Persian dynasty, as opposed to the previous times of Median supremacy, is discernible in contemporary Greek writers. The Athenian dramatist Æschylus was about thirteen years old at the time of the birth of Xerxes [a] son of Darius, and therefore may be described as an elder contemporary of Xerxes. Before Darius died and left his throne to Xerxes, the poet in the thirty-fifth year of his age fought against the Perso-Median invaders at Marathon. He was probably on board of the Athenian fleet at Salamis, when the great naval armament of Xerxes in his sixth year was totally defeated, and obliged to leave the hope of the conquest of Greece to the efforts of land-forces alone. Eight years afterwards, he gained the prize with a trilogy, of which one drama was "the Persians." This opens with a chant of a chorus of aged nobles who are supposed to

[a] That is, he was five years old in B. C. 521 when Darius son of Hystaspes began to reign. For Æschylus's age, see Clinton's F. H.

have been left by Xerxes in charge of his home affairs, and who express forebodings of evil. They add :—

Κοὔτε τις ἄγγελος, οὔτε τις ἱππεὺς,
Ἄστυ τὸ Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖται·
Οἵτε τὸ Σούσων ἠδ' Ἐκβατάνων
Καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Κίσσιον ἔρκος
Προλιπόντες ἔβαν,

" And never a messenger, never a horseman
To the Persians' city comes ;
And (their's) that the (hold) of Susa and Ekbatana
And the ancient Kissian hold
Left for the march. . ."

It matters not to our argument, if the poet seem here to be ignorant, that Susa was the Kissian capital before it became the principal seat of the Persian kings, and though he should seem to confound Susa and Ekbatana with Pasargadæ or with the yet young Persepolis. Again, after the news of the defeat at Salamis has arrived, the chorus of Persians cries :—

Ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, νῦν [δὴ] Περσῶν [b]
Τῶν μεγαλαύχων καὶ πολυάνδρων
Στρατιὰν ὀλέσας,
Ἄστυ τὸ Σούσων ἠδ' Ἐκβατάνων
Πένθει δνοφερῷ κατέκρυψας.

" Oh Auramazda ! king ! Now that of the Persians
Whose glories were so great and warriors so many
Thou hast destroyed the host,
The city of Susa and Ekbatana
In gloom of mourning thou hast buried ! "

To these lines of the tragic poet, written about B. C. 472 in the reign of Xerxes, two passages may be appended, from Xenophon's narrative of the expedition undertaken by Xerxes' great-grandson Cyrus in order to dethrone his elder brother, named Arsakes as Ktesias informs us, but whose royal name was Artaxerxes, and whom the Greeks entitled Mnemon, that is, the Mindful. Having

[b] We have inserted between brackets the word δὴ to complete the metre of this defective line. But instead of the spondee, νῦν [δή], an anapæst, [σὺ δὴ] νῦν or [σύ γε] νῦν might be preferable.

been victorious in their part of the field on which Cyrus was slain, the Greek division of Cyrus's army obtained permission to return to Lower Asia, escorted by Tissaphernes the king's lieutenant; they took the road on the left bank of the Tigris; and at four marches north of the spot where they had crossed from the right bank, arriving at the river Physkus, where there was a bridge, and a city named Opis, they were met by a bastard brother of Cyrus and of Artaxerxes, bringing a numerous army "from Susa and Ekbatana" to reinforce the king. Before he joined the royal forces under Tissaphernes, the Persian halted his levies in front of the city, while the Greeks marched by and crossed the bridge. Thus he seems himself to have arrived at Opis from beyond the river, and he could hardly in the strict sense of the terms have brought his men from both the capitals. From Ekbatana, indeed, the road seems to have passed from the right bank of this tributary of the Tigris to the left and south side where Opis stood; but reinforcements from Susa for the army of Artaxerxes would not have gone by Opis. Therefore the compound term "Susa and Ekbatana" may be taken to signify that united kingdom which we find Darius Hystaspes' son terming "Persia and Media."

Again, in Xenophon's narrative, when, no longer escorted but pursued and harrassed by Tissaphernes, after he had entrapped their former generals, the retreating Greeks had got to the distance of nine or ten marches higher up the Tigris than Mespila (Nineveh) and were hesitating what road to take, they were informed by their prisoners that southward in the direction whence they were come, was the way to Babylonia and Media, which latter name Xenophon applies to the country east of the Tigris which the Greeks entered after having crossed the Physkus. Eastward of where they now were halted, their prisoners told them was the way to "Susa and Ekbatana," where the king, it was said, spent summer and spring; across the Tigris westward, the way led to Lydia and Ionia: lastly, northward over the mountains, was a way through

the Kardukhians into Armenia. Now, in this description, as before, the name Susa cannot be taken separately and in its proper sense; for the city so called was not eastward of the Greek position. But natives of Assyria with the feelings of their race, and with traditions of the past in their minds, might describe Babylonia and the countries once dependent thereon, as lying to the south; and might place Persia and Media, taken for a united kingdom or for a single race, to the eastward, as westward lay Lydia and Ionia: that Ionia at least, the Javan of Asia, which once was subject to Lydia. Therefore, although it is true that Artaxerxes, if he moved from Babylon in the south, after having passed the winter there, to Ekbatana in the east, there to spend the hottest months of the year, might naturally go by way of Susa and make that capital his abode during the spring, Susa itself, not being eastward of Assyria, and being in Xenophon's account of the Assyrian information linked as closely as possible to Ekbatana, must be taken to stand for the people who had the first rank in the united kingdom of Persia and Media.

Certainly then, in these four passages,[c] two of them penned by a contemporary of Xerxes, and two by a contemporary of Arsakes Artaxerxes, the Mindful, the same order is observable in enumerating the two royal cities, or, let us say, the two horns of the empire. Both Æschylus and Xenophon rank the ancient Median capital in the second place; giving precedence to the new capital which the Persian monarchs, and first of them, as it seems, Darius son of Hystaspes preferred. Further, Æschylus in his mistaken distinction between Susa and the ancient "Kissian fort," Κίσσινον (*query* Κίσσιον) ἕρκος, intimates, what appears likewise from Darius's inscriptions and from Herodotus, that the nation which ranked next after the Persians and Medes was the Kissian.

c That is, Persæ 12–18, and 532–536; Xenoph. Anab. ii. 4 § 25, and ii. 5 § 15.

CHAPTER II.

I.

FROM what has just been said of Susa, let us go on to another proof, that the king Ahasuerus of the book Esther was a Persian, that is, a Perso-Median monarch; in other words, one of that line of kings the head of which is Cyrus. This argument, like the former, is independent of those which go to shew which of the Perso-Median kings he was. It may be stated thus: Although our Ahasuerus was not (as it will be shewn hereafter he was not) that last of the Medo-Persian line, Darius the son of Ahasuerus the Mede who preceded Cyrus the Persian on the throne of the conquered kingdom of Babylon, yet it appears from his story that in his third, seventh and twelfth regnal years he had his residence at Shushan, or Susa, the royal fortress, the seat of kingly authority, in the province of Elam: whereas before the taking of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus's command, and the accession thereupon of Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes, to the throne of the realm of the Chaldeans, or, at least, before the dethronement of Astyages and the appointment of Darius to the

Median (that is, the Medo-Persian) throne at Agbatana, when Cyrus became his general, the Median kings do not appear to have ruled in Elam. More briefly, our argument is, that before B. C. 538, the year of Nabonassar 210, which was the first year of the reign of Darius son of Ahasuerus the Mede at Babylon, or at least before B. C. 558, his first regnal year at Agbatana (if with Herodotus we reckon the interval between the last year of Astyages son of Cyaxares the Mede, and the first year of Cambyses son of Cyrus the Persian, at twenty-nine years, not at thirty or thirty-one, as some authors do,) the Medes were not masters of the country named, after different races that inhabited it, by the Hebrews Elam, and by Herodotus Kissia. By the way be it noted, that the Agbatana of Herodotus, a name which, (as we have seen) usually appears as Ekbatana in Greek books, is found in the Aryan portion of the trilingual inscription at Behistun, where it is deciphered Hagamatâna; in the speech of modern Persia it is become Hamadân.

Several matters involved in the above statement of our argument may require to be established or explained. That the Shushan of the book Esther, of Nehemiah and of the prophet Daniel (who describes it as situate in the province of Elam) was the Susa, Σοῦσα, of Æschylus, Herodotus, Xenophon, Ktesias, Diodorus, Strabo, Arrian, and other Greek and Roman writers, requires no such proof, but yet is a fact that may be proved by the authority of the Septuagint version of the Hebrew books, and by the authority of Josephus in the parallel parts of his ancient Jewish history. For both the Septuagint and Josephus substitute the form of the name used by the secular Greek writers, in place of the form which the old prophet and old historians of their nation had preserved in Hebrew. Both varieties, it is said, are found in Cuneiform writings: the one used by the Greeks, contemporaries of the Perso-Median empire, has been discovered in the ruins of the city itself, as the name of a district, (no doubt the suburban district,) and is ascribed to the time of Darius son of Hystaspes: the other form appears in a

record of the wars of an early Assyrian monarch; and in this case, is the name of a town.[a]

That to the list of the nations subordinate to them, the Medes had added Elam, or the Kissian country, before the fall of Nineveh, that is, before Babylon succeeded to the supremacy of Nineveh and enjoyed it for the seventy years which preceded the first of Darius the Mede, the year of Nabonassar 210, is a supposition for which justification may be sought in Herodotus's account of the aggrandizement of the Medes under their first conquering king Phraortes.

[a] Sir H. C. Rawlinson in the Journal R. A. S. vol. xiv. p. xvii. note. As to the Shushan of Esther, of Nehemiah, and of Dan. viii. 3, being the *Susa* of Josephus, see Jos. Antiq. x. 11. § 7; xi. 6. §§ 1, 6, 7, 12, 13. The whole action of the book Esther, so far as the king Ahasuerus, Vashti, Esther, Mordecai, Haman and the other personages are concerned, passes at Susa in the city or the palace, see especially Esth. i. 1–3; ii. 3, 4, 8; iii. 15; iv. 8, 16; viii. 14, 16; ix. 6, 11, 15, 18, where we have ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει, ἐν Σούσοις, εἰς Σοῦσαν, (not εἰς Σοῦσα) and εἰς Σοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν. But in Nehemiah i. 1. instead of ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει we have (by a transcription of the original) ἐν Σουσὰν ἀβιρά the latter word being also written variously ἀβειρὰ and ἀβιρρά; but in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, besides this, there is inserted previously in the verse, what is in fact a translation of it, τοῖς Σούσοις μητροπόλει Περσῶν. See Tischendorf's edition. In Dan. viii. 3, the old Sept. version gives ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐν Ἐλυμαΐδι χώρᾳ but Theodotion gives ἐν Σούσοις τῇ βάρει ἡ ἐστιν ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰλὰμ. Josephus's paraphrase Antiq. x. 11. § 7, is ἐν Σούσοις τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς Περσιδος. It was a fact, that, from the reign, perhaps, of Cyrus, but certainly of Darius Hystaspes' son, down to the conquest by Alexander the Macedonian, Susa had always been the chief city of the Persian empire. This fact, connected perhaps with Isaiah's prophetically bidding Elam and Media to besiege and capture Babylon (Isai. xxi. 2–9), a bidding which seemed to have been obeyed in the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus, though it was rather fulfilled perhaps, as we shall see, in the fifth year of the reign of Darius Hystaspes' son, probably led Josephus into the error of supposing that the Persians were descended from that Elam son of Shem and brother of Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud and Aram, who is commemorated in Gen. x. 22, and whose descendants under their king Khedor-Laomer were famous in the days of Abraham, Gen. xiv. 1, 4, 5, 9, 17. See Josephus, Antiq. i. 6 § 4. The same fact led Strabo too (Strab. xv. 3 § 15) into the error of supposing *Omanes* to have been a Persian instead of a Kissian hero or deity.

Herodotus tells us[b] that Phraortes, not content as Deiokes his father had been for three and fifty years (B. C. 708–656) with the single kingdom of the Medes, first subdued the Persians: and then, at the head of the Medes and Persians, proceeded to conquer province after province of (Upper) Asia. At last, he attacked the Assyrians of Nineveh, the former lords of Asia, but perished in the expedition with the greater part of his army, after a reign of twenty-two years (B. C. 655–634); when he was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. This account, where, being favourable to the Medes, it might be least credited, is confirmed by the fact, that the power of that Assyrian empire which is known to us through the records of Tiglath-Pilezer, of Sargon, of Sennacherib, of Esarhaddon, and of Asshurbanipal, decayed rapidly during the reign of Phraortes in Media, whose first year, (according to the statement of Herodotus), is equivalent to the year B. C. 655, and therefore equivalent, as it would seem from Ptolemy's Canon, to about the thirteenth year after the close of the king of Assyria Esarhaddon's reign at Babylon; and withal, if we calculate upwards from the Persian conquest of Egypt in B. C. 525, equivalent to the tenth year after the death of the first Nekho, deputy king to Asshurbanipal son of Esarhaddon at Sais and Memphis in Egypt. That is to say, Phraortes appears to have begun his reign in Media about ten years after an event which, marking the recovery of Egypt by the Ethiopians, marks also the ebb of the Assyrian power.

But the annals of Asshurbanipal, which are copious, make no mention (it is said) of the Medes: and a large part of the king's time appears to have been spent in hunting expeditions in the Kissian country, where he continued the warfare of the Assyrian kings his predecessors, contending with the grandsons of that Merodakh Baladan whom the Kissians had aided against Sargon and Sennacherib, and whose son they had in like manner assisted against Esarhaddon.[c] It may readily be believed,

[b] Herod. i. 102.

[c] See George Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 408, and pp. 481–484.

therefore, that Phraortes, when towards the close of his reign he attacked Assyria, had the good wishes of the Kissians and of the Chaldeans: he may even have been assisted by Kissian forces. But this admission falls far short of the belief that he, (or through him his son or grandson after him) ever ruled in Kissia as the immediate master of the country, or ever resided at Susa, as one Assyrian king Esarhaddon is known to have resided at Babylon. Nor is there any reason for believing that his son Cyaxares achieved more through his own exertions. The reign of Cyaxares,[d] a space of forty years according to Herodotus (B. C. 633–594), may be divided into four periods :—

(1.) The first three years; in which he successfully renewed the war with Assyria, B. C. 633–631;

(2.) The next twenty-two years B. C. 630–609;[e] during which the Scythians (in the interest, as it seems, of Assyria) domineered over Asia, till a re-action happened in which the Medes and Babylonians took the chief part, and the Assyrian power, twice before threatened, was now overthrown by the capture of Nineveh :

(3.) The next six years (B. C. 608–603); during which

[d] Herod. i. 103–106.

[e] The second and third periods of twenty-two and six years respectively are obtained by comparing Herod. i. 106, where he says, that the dominion of the Scythians lasted twenty-eight years in Asia; and Herod. iv. 1, in which he repeats, that for twenty-eight years the Scythians were lords of the whole of Upper Asia; but also adds, that they returned to their own country (he does not say why they returned) after an absence of twenty-eight years; with Herod. i. 130, where he estimates the duration of the Median rule from Deiokes to Astyages, over and above the years of Scythian rule, παρὲξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον, at 128 years; also Herod. i. 102–130, whence we gather that the other reigns of the Median kings, including the time of Scythian rule, were 53 + 22 + 40 + 35, or in all 150 years; and lastly, Herod. i. 74, where the war of Cyaxares with Alyattes king of Lydia is said to have ended on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun (May B. C. 603) in the sixth year of its duration; this war being on account of certain Scythians who had taken refuge from the Medes with Alyattes. See "a Vindication of Ptolemy's Canon" in vol. xviii. of the Journal of the R. A. S.

the Medes carried on a war with the remnant of the Scythians who now served Alyattes king of Lydia: and

(4.) Lastly, the nine years which complete the reign of Cyaxares, B. C. 602–594.

In no one of these portions of his reign is it probable that Cyaxares did more than Phraortes his father, in the Kissian country. Not in his first three years, because he was then engaged with his Assyrian neighbours: not in the next twenty-two years, because he had to submit to the Scythian domination; not in either of the subsequent periods, because after the fall of Nineveh, if the king of Babylon did not succeed to all the pretensions of the kings of Assyria, he certainly succeeded to those they maintained against the Kissian country; which was in his immediate neighbourhood and had long been allied with the Chaldeans in resisting the Assyrian power. Herodotus's history of the Medes leaves the Babylonians unnoticed, making the king of the Medes sole conqueror of the empire enthroned at Nineveh, though in his account of the termination of the subsequent war of the Medes with the Lydians, we discern the king of Babylon's mediation in behalf of the Medes. But the fact, that the Babylonian Nabopolassar was the ally of Cyaxares in the war wherein the power of Assyria was overthrown, or rather, that the Mede was but the ally of the Babylonian, appears from Abydenus and from the story of Tobit,[f] and is completely confirmed by what we learn from the Hebrew Scriptures concerning the son and successor of Nabopolassar, the great Nebukhadrezzar. The people of Elam or Kissia had, it is probable, been allies in the war of Nabopolassar and Cyaxares against Nineveh, but they soon found the supremacy of Babylon oppressive; and their resistance, like that of every other of the nations given to serve the king of Babylon, drew down the terrible accompaniments of a forcible subjugation, when the sentence of the Almighty was accomplished, "Behold I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might, and upon Elam

[f] Tobit xiv. 16. The important fragment of Abydenus is preserved in Euseb. Chron. i. 9.

will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven; and I will scatter them toward all those winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come."[g]

g For the final subjugation of Elam by Nebukhadrezzar, see the prophecy uttered by Jeremiah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, which was the first year of the vassalage of Judah to Nebukhadrezzar; Jerem. xxv. 1, 9, 11, 17, 25; also, the prophecy uttered in the first year of Zedekiah king of Judah, which was the ninth year of Nebukhadrezzar's supremacy; Jerem. xlix. 34–39. All had been fulfilled before the year reckoned by the men of Judah as the twentieth year of Nebukhadrezzar, *i. e.*, before their civil year which began in the autumn of B. C. 587; also probably, before the commencement of Nebukhadrezzar's siege of Jerusalem in the ninth year of Zedekiah, which began in autumn B. C. 590: for the fulfilment is referred to in a prophecy of Ezekiel's against Egypt, delivered in the twelfth year of his own and of Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim's captivity; see Ezek. xxxii. 17, 24. From the mention of the four winds, whence came Elam's destruction and whither went his captives, we may infer that in this as in his other expeditions, the king of the Chaldæans led Medes and Persians against Elam. This war with Elam appears to be the one alluded to by Strabo, where he relates that the Elymæan population (properly so called) aided by 13,000 Kossæan (that is Kissian) bowmen contended with the Babylonians and people of Susa. See Strabo xvi. 1 § 18; xi. 13 § 6. The calamities which now fell upon both the Elymæans and Kissians appear to have been remembered when these nations found themselves in the ranks of the army of the Medes at the capture of Babylon, either by Cyrus in B. C. 538 or by Darius Hystaspes' son's general Vindafra the Mede in B. C. 517: see Isai. xxi. 2–9. Perhaps Jeremiah's expression "the bow of Elam" alludes to the Kossæan bowmen commemorated by Strabo. On Herod. iii. 21 Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us, that the unstrung bow was the emblem of the African Æthiopia, called Kûsh or Kish on Egyptian monuments as old as the beginning of the twelfth dynasty. At least, it was the emblem of that part of Kush which corresponded with the modern Nubia and which was called in hieroglyphics *Tosh;* that is, by a name equivalent to the Coptic designation of Ethiopia *Ethosh* or *Ethaush.* Sir J. G. W. asks, May Kûsh be related to Kôs "the bow"? He adds that the modern Kish, or Gerf Hossayn, in Nubia, is called in Coptic papyri Thôsh, Ethôsh, and Ethaush; whence came the Latin name of the place Tutzis. On Herod ii. 106 he tells us, that Phut or Phit, that is, the Libya of the monuments, a name signifying the "bow" was likewise termed "the land of the nine bows," and he remarks that the Libyan differs from the Ethiopian bow, being a strung bow. See Geo. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. ii. pp. 417 and 175. For the Hebrew Kush and Phut, see Gen. x. 6, 8.

If, then, Susa was never the royal seat of the power of Cyaxares, still less can it be possible that his son Astyages, who by marriage was Nebukhadrezzar's brother, ever reigned there. During the thirty-five years of Astyages (B. C. 593-559) the Medes were probably more dependent than before on the great king of the Chaldeans, whose reign closed (according to Ptolemy's Canon) with the 186th year of Nabonassar (12th January B. C. 561), and on his son Evil Merodakh, who after a reign, according to the Canon, of two years, the 187th and 188th of Nabonassar, was cut off by his sister's husband Neriglissar. But this revolution at Babylon was followed by a revolt from Astyages in Media and Persia, the result of which was that Astyages was dethroned and replaced, as it would seem, by the Mede whom Xenophon calls Cyaxares son of Astyages but who is named by the prophet Daniel Darius son of Ahasuerus. During this king's reign, which appears to have lasted two and twenty years (B. C. 558-537), a series of successful wars was carried on under the conduct of his nephew and successor, who was also, by some accounts, his daughter's husband, Cyrus the Persian; but amid the blaze of the glory of the Persian general, the king of the Medes was lost to the eyes of foreign nations. He was forgotten by the informants of Herodotus, who gave his twenty years' reign at Agbatana and two years' subsequent reign as king of kings at Babylon to Cyrus. He is equally ignored by Ptolemy's Canon of Babylonian reigns, where his last two years are made the first two of Cyrus. Unless, then, Esther's husband be this king of the Medes, who certainly at the time of his death was lord of Susa as well as of Agbatana, the fact that Esther's husband held his court at Susa tends to shew that he was not a Mede.

II.

If, then, Darius the son of Ahasuerus, the king who is called by Xenophon Cyaxares son of Astyages, may have resided in part at Susa, can he be Esther's Ahasuerus?

We have now to shew, as we promised, that he can not. This is not to disprove what has never been asserted. There is an extraordinary concatenation of persons reduced to one by Georgius the Syncellus, which concerns us here. He identifies Astyages king of the Medes, the father of Cyrus's mother Mandané, with Nabonedus or Nabonadius, the last of the Chaldæan kings according to Berosus and Ptolemy's Canon, and the father (probably, step-father) of Belshazzar according to Babylonian monuments. This Astyages or Nabonedus he, moreover, identifies with Daniel's Darius son of Assuerus and with the Septuagint's Artaxerxes husband of Esther.[a]

When on the fall of the Chaldæan kings, Darius son of Ahasuerus took their kingdom and became on the throne at Babylon the great monarch of Asia, he was sixty-two years old. This Daniel has recorded; "In the same night," after he had interpreted that sentence which suddenly the appearance of a hand wrote upon the palace

[a] See Georg. Syncell. ed. Dindorf. (Bonnæ) vol. i. pp. 438, 439. He appears to have only followed in the track of others: for in that corrupt copy of Ptolemy's Chaldæan Canon which he calls "the astronomical," "the mathematical," and also "the Chaldaic and astronomical Canon," the twentieth of the periods of time (reigns and no reigns) counted from Nabonassar, being also the reign preceding that ascribed to Cyrus, is this:—

Ναβοναδίου, τοῦ καὶ Ἀστυάγους, ἔτη λδ'.

See p. 391. Also in the much corrupted document which he calls "the Ecclesiastical canon," or "computation," the same place in the succession is filled by what an American might describe as "the whole hog," no less than what the Syncellus has adopted, this:—

Ναβονάδιος, ὁ καὶ Ἀστυάγης, Δαρεῖος Ἀσσουήρου, καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης, ἔτη ιζ'.

See p. 393. The uncorrupted copy of Ptolemy's manual canon, Theon's, has simply:—

Ναβοναδίου (ἔτη) ιζ'.

followed by the total number of years of Nabonassar which the addition of these years makes. This single collation indicates that not only the ecclesiastical canon had been corrupted by its manipulators for their historical purposes, but that, in its details, the "mathematical" or "Chaldaic and astronomical canon," also has not escaped theoretical fingering.

wall in the midst of a royal feast, no record of past victory but the doom of the monarchy, the prophet relates [b] that "Belshazzar the king of the Chaldæans was slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old," or, "as the son of threescore and two years." It is in the after-portion of the prophet's book, which consists of revelations made to the prophet, and recorded in chronological order from the first year of Belshazzar to the third of Cyrus, that the king of whom we speak is called "Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes." [c] Josephus's account of him, which is certainly derived in part from Daniel, which has Greek writers also in view, and which may likewise be due in part to special sources of information open to the Jews, though in general the Jews cared not for the use of them, is this; "Darius who put an end to the Babylonian empire along with Cyrus his kinsman, was in his sixty-second year when he took Babylon. He was Astyages's son: but was called among the Greeks by another name." [d] Accordingly, we obtain from Xenophon, who had opportunities undoubtedly for being well-informed, the following outline, that Kuakhshara (Κυαξάρης, transcribed by the Latins Cyaxares,) son of Astyages and brother of Cyrus's mother Mandané, was king of the Medes in succession to his father, during the whole war in which Lydia first and Babylon afterwards were conquered by the Medes and Persians; and that Cyrus, son and heir apparent of Cambyses king of the Persians, being sent in command of the Persian contingent, was the commander-in-chief under Kuakhshara; who, having no legitimate male issue, ultimately gave a daughter in marriage to Cyrus with Media for her dowry; so that Cyrus succeeded not only to the kingship of his father among the Persians, but to that of the son of Astyages in the greater confederate nation of the Medes.[e]

[b] Dan. v. 30, 31. [c] See Dan. ix. 1. and compare Dan. xi. 1.

[d] Antiq. x. xi. § 4.

[e] See Xenophon's Cyropædia: especially i. 2 § 1; 3 §§ 1, 2; 4 § 25; 5 §§ 2, 4; again 4 §§ 9–22. also viii. 5 § 19.

And here it may be very desirable, that we should point out a plain indication that in this outline Xenophon acts the historian, though, in perhaps the larger part of the work from which we take it, the Cyropædia, he may be regarded as the political or moral romancer. It is this. Having related that Cyrus married a daughter of Kuakhshara or Cyaxares son of Astyages, he adds, what it was quite foreign to the plan of a romancer, Asiatic or European, either to explain or to refute, that some of the story-writers or story-makers (λογοποιῶν) described Cyrus's Median wife as his mother's sister. That this different version is consistent enough with his own, if the term sister be taken in a wider sense, as applicable no less to a grand-daughter than to a daughter of Mandané's parents, or to a half-sister of Mandané, young enough to be her daughter, he does not say. But, taking sister to mean daughter of the same parents with Mandané, he objects that in that case she must have been quite an old woman when Cyrus married her;[f] and that is not very consistent with the rest of his story, that she was the mother of Cyrus's two sons, of whom he calls the elder Cambyses and the younger (as Ktesias also may perhaps have called him) Tanaoxares or Tanaokhshara, instead of Smerdis or Bardiya as he is named by Herodotus and by the Behistun inscription respectively.[g] Otherwise, it might be conceived that marrying an old woman with Media for her dowry, would not be very difficult to a man who had or might have other wives, and who, according to some of the current tales, once proposed by marriage to console a queen for the cession of her dominions. Thus Xenophon's account appears to be given in historical earnest, and justifies Josephus's allusion to Greek writers who called Darius son of Astyages, under whom Cyrus took Babylon, by a different name.[h]

[f] Xen. Cyrop. viii. 5 § 28.

[g] Cyrop. viii. 7, §§ 5–28. Compare also the third and the last sections of the same seventh chapter.

[h] Perhaps Ktesias who is referred to by Xenophon Anab. i. 8 §§ 26, 27 for the wound which Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon received from his

But we have to shew that the king Ahasuerus of the book "Esther" cannot be that Median predecessor of Cyrus on the conquered throne of Babylon, whom the prophet

brother Cyrus when Cyrus was slain, and for the slaughter made among those by whom Artaxerxes was surrounded, may be thought to be specially alluded to by Xenophon, when he says that some of the λογοποιοὶ made Cyrus's Median wife to be his mother's sister. Ktesias at least, (as reported by Photius) §§ 2 and 10, followed such authority; for, by making Cyrus marry Amytis daughter of Astyigas and widow of Spitamas, he makes him marry one who, according to Herodotus and Xenophon, would have been his mother's sister. Ktesias, indeed, does not himself acknowledge the relationship thus implied; for by his envious account, Cyrus's mother was not the daughter of Astyages or Astyigas; see Ktesias apud Photium, cod. lxxii, in the collection of the fragments of Ktesias at the end of the Herodotus published by Didot of Paris. Nicolaus of Damascus, whom Josephus had read, probably followed Ktesias, where he names the alleged father and mother of Cyrus, no less than in relating that Astyages gave a daughter in marriage to Spitamas a Mede with all Media for a dowry. See the sixty-sixth fragment of Nicolaus in the Fragmenta Scriptor. Græc. vol. iii. pp. 377–400, published by Didot. Ktesias, as epitomized by Photius, makes Cyrus succeed immediately to the throne of Astyages and assigns him a reign of thirty years: thus agreeing substantially with Herodotus who assigns to the reign of Cyrus an interval of twenty-nine years between the dethronement of Astyages and the accession of Cambyses son of Cyrus. Yet Ktesias mentions not only Spitamas the husband of Amytis who was put to death by Cyrus for fidelity to Astyages, but a brother of Amytis, named Parmises, who with his three sons was captured by the Sakæ but was soon released in exchange for their king Amorges, afterwards Cyrus's ally. Now, Xenophon's Cyaxares son of Astyages, or Josephus's Darius son of Astyages, would have been brother to Astyages's daughter. But, if Amytis was really granddaughter of Astyages, her brother should be one of those illegitimate sons that Xenophon ascribes to Cyaxares son of Astyages or allows him perhaps to have had. Ktesias's story, as it proceeds, disagrees with that of Herodotus and agrees with Xenophon's in making Cyrus's Median wife the mother of his two sons, Cambyses by whom he was succeeded in the kingdom, and a younger son whom he made lord of the Baktrians Khoramnians (*i. e.* Khorasmians) Parthians and Carmanians. This younger son, Photius represents Ktesias to have named *Tanaoxarkes:* Xenophon calls him *Tanaoxares.* Ktesias mentions also two sons of Amytis by her former husband Spitamas. The first, Spitakes, was left by Cyrus satrap of the lately vanquished Derbikes; the other, Megabernes, satrap of the Barkanians. See Ktesias, ap. Phot. cod. lxxii. p. 106, §§ 44–57.

Daniel calls Darius son of Ahasuerus, Xenophon calls Kuakhshara or Cyaxares son of Astyages, and Josephus calls Darius son of Astyages. To this end we have cited from Daniel, the fact, that the Mede, when on the capture of Babylon he mounted the Chaldæan throne and succeeded to all its prerogatives, though he might have made Susa, if he chose, a place of his residence, (which no Median king before him, as it appears, could have done,) was yet assuredly too old for the part acted at Susa by the king who divorced Vashti and married Esther. When he took the Chaldæan kingdom he was sixty-two years old; so that the year B. C. 600 was the first of his life, and he was born three full years after the treaty of marriage between Astyages son of Cyaxares, and Aryenis daughter of Alyattes king of Lydia. Now, it was in the third year of his reign that Esther's Ahasuerus at Susa entertained first his princes and nobles for 180 days, afterwards all that were at Susa both small and great for seven days, and in the last of these seven days, received that affront from Vashti his queen which caused her divorce. If he was Darius the Mede, he did all this in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Again, when after a considerable interval he regretted the irreparable step, and, measures having been taken to afford him another choice, Esther after twelve months' preparation was introduced to him in the seventh year of his reign, he must have been in his sixty-ninth year, if he was no other than Daniel's Darius the Mede. Lastly, his favourite Haman's quarrel with Mordecai the Jew, after having nearly brought about the extirpation of the whole Jewish nation, wherever scattered throughout the empire, terminated in the destruction of their enemies, in the twelfth year of the reign of Ahasuerus, that is, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, if he is Darius the Mede the predecessor of Cyrus. Yet Esther's is plainly not the young queen's influence over the aged king.

If, then, this identity is to be advocated, we cannot suppose the events of the book Esther to date after the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians. Indeed, this supposition is excluded by the mention in that book

of the king's third, seventh, and twelfth regnal years at Susa. For Darius the Mede after the capture of Babylon, reigned but two years out of the nine, which (according to Ptolemy's Canon) intervened between that triumph of the Medes and Persians, and the accession of Cambyses the son and successor of Cyrus the Persian. So Josephus relates; and so we might have concluded for ourselves, knowing that the seventy years of Daniel's captivity, which began with the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, ended in the first year of Cyrus's succession to Darius the Mede at Babylon.[i]

The only hope that remains of being able to establish an identity between Darius the Mede and the king Ahasuerus of the book Esther, must lie in supposing that the Mede divorced Vashti in the third year, married Esther in the seventh, and put Haman to death in the twelfth year of his previous reign: for the two years he reigned at Babylon were the last two of a reign of two and twenty years in succession to Astyages, according to Herodotus's measurement of the interval between the dethronement of Astyages and the commencement of the reign of Cambyses. It appears to have been in the fifth year of this reign, that the Lydian monarchy was subdued and Crœsus made a prisoner; for, as has been argued elsewhere, the interval between the fall of Astyages and that of Crœsus, assigned by Herodotus, appears to be five years. During the first two, Crœsus was engrossed by a domestic grief; though meanwhile (as is proved by the date, May B. C. 557, of the eclipse that happened at the capture of the city, on the site of the old Assyrian Calah, called by Xenophon Larissa), Assyria Proper was being subdued, and, with Assyria, probably the whole region westward as far as the river Halys.[j] Then Crœsus was

[i] See Clinton's "Kings of Persia" in his *Fasti Hellenici* vol. ii. Appendix chap. 18. Also the author's Vindication of Ptolemy's Canon, in vol. xviii. of the R. A. S.'s Journal.

[j] See Herod. i. 45, 46; Xenoph. Anab. iii. 4 §§ 7–9; commented on in the "Vindication of Ptolemy's Canon," Journal R. A. S. vol. xviii. pp. 140–146. According to Xenophon, Cyrop. iii. 1 § 10, the king of

alarmed, and prepared for war with the Medes, basing his own force on support from the European Greeks, and consulting the god of the Greeks, Apollo, concerning the issue of his enterprise. This was in B. C. 556.[k] The next year (being the first of the reign which Ptolemy's Canon gives to Nabonadius, the Nabonedus of Berosus, the Nabunit of the inscriptions, and Nitocris's husband Labynetus, according to Herodotus) Crœsus concluded (or probably renewed) a treaty with the Babylonian. In the third year, B. C. 554, he crossed the Halys against the Medes, and brought down on himself a swift destruction: being followed home and captured by Cyrus at the seat of his power, the royal city Sardis.[l] At this time, according to Xenophon, Cyrus was not king in chief, but general commanding for the king of the Medes, the son of Astyages, named Cyaxares, or, according to Josephus, Darius: and this king (whose claim to be Esther's Ahasuerus we are disputing) while Cyrus conducted the war abroad and marched against Crœsus,

the Armenians had been made tributary by Astyages. On the approach of the war between Cyaxares and the Assyrians (*i. e.* Babylonians) and their Lydian and other allies, he withheld the men and money he was bound to furnish, but was reduced by Cyrus; (ibid. from ii. 4 § 9 –iii. 1. § 42). "Meshech and Tubal" appear to have been conquered by Nebukhadrezzar: Ezek. xxxii. 26.

[k] See the Parian Marble, lines 56 and 57: On this George Rawlinson observes, "The embassy sent by Crœsus to Delphi is placed in what must clearly be the 292nd year of the Marble; which is the first year of the fifty-sixth Olympiad, or B. C. 556." See his Herodotus, vol. i. p. 357, note. The year, Ol. 56. 1, began at Midsummer B. C. 556.

[l] Apollo was made by some, who knew the dates, to claim the merit of having delayed the capture of Sardis for three full years, *i. e.* B. C. 556–554. See Herod. i. 91. Ktesias (according to Photius's abstract § 4,) stated that Cyrus gave to Crœsus a great city *Baréné* near Ekbatana, in which there were 5,000 horsemen, and of buckler-men, dart-men and archers, 10,000. *Varene* is the name of a position in the list of the Vendidad; See George Rawlinson's Herod. vol. i. p. 404, note. As to the date of the league between Crœsus and the Babylonians, it existed before his campaign in B. C. 554. See Herod. i. 77. It may have been of old standing but renewed in B. C. 555, the first year of Nabonedus. Herodotus makes the league with Amasis older than that with the Lacedæmonians.

stayed with one-third of the forces of the Medes at home.[m] Therefore, following Herodotus for time and place; and following Xenophon for the fact that Cyrus commanded not for himself but for another, because here Xenophon is justified by the contemporary and prophet Daniel; we find that our Mede, the son of Astyages, by the end of his fifth regnal year was endowed through Cyrus with a vast accession of dominion, extending in fact from Media and Armenia to the Ægæan sea. Assuming for him, likewise, as large a dominion in Upper Asia, to the eastward of Media and Persia, as our ignorance may permit us to imagine, we now ask, May he not in the following year, the sixth of his reign in succession to Astyages, may he not, in B. C. 553, have ordered the muster at Susa of beautiful girls from every quarter? and after she had there passed a twelvemonth's preparation, may he not have married Esther at Susa in his seventh year, as we read of the king Ahasuerus?

The question must be answered with a negative. The sixth year of the reign of the successor of Astyages was the third year, according to Ptolemy's Canon, of the reign at Babylon of Nabonedus, that is, of Nitokris's husband Labynetus. For the seventeen years preceding that Median reign at Babylon, of which the first year was B. C. 538 (or rather the year of Nabonassar 210,) are assigned by the Canon to Nabonedus, there called Nabonadius. But the years of Nabonedus, the husband of Nitokris, are at the same time years of that son of Nitokris to whom Herodotus[n] has by mistake assigned the same name as to Nitokris's husband, but whom Daniel teaches us to call Belshazzar: for though Nabonedus was king in a certain sense during all those years down to the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians which he survived,

[m] Xenoph. Cyrop. vi. 3 §§ 2, 11.

[n] Herod. i. 188. Herodotus knew that Nitokris had a husband named Labynetus; that her son was king when Cyrus attacked Babylon; and that Labynetus at that time contended with Cyrus. Hence he inferred erroneously that the son was named Labynetus as well as the husband of Nitokris.

yet his title was such, that his acts, imputed to himself by his own inscriptions and consequently by the Chaldæan historian Berosus, were imputed to his wife Nitokris by the informants of Herodotus; while we learn from the prophet Daniel that the king, who, according to Xenophon no less than to Daniel, was slain in the night of the capture of Babylon, was but advised by the queen mother and was named Belshazzar. Moreover, in the extremity of his fear, after the blasphemies of the banquet had been interrupted by a message from Jehovah written by the appearance of a hand on the wall before his eyes, king Belshazzar, it seems, was not able to promise the next place in the kingdom to himself; he promised to proclaim third ruler in the kingdom the sage who should read the message. Moreover, Nabonedus, in the inscription on the four cylinders found at the corners of the temple of the Moon at Mugheir and now in the British Museum, affords us a proof that Belshazzar had been trained by his care in a very different spirit from that which prompted the last words of Nebukhadrezzar; that he had been taught to praise "the gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone," "which see not, nor hear, nor know; but the God, in Whose hand was his breath and Whose were all his ways," not to "glorify"; so that, at the banquet which closed his life, the holy vessels, taken out of the house of Jehovah at Jerusalem by Nebukhadrezzar, were brought upon the table, that he and his princes, his wives and his concubines, might drink wine therefrom and praise the false gods. Nabonedus in his inscription prays thus; "O Moon, chief of the gods, . . . to Bel-sar-ussur my eldest son, my rising hope, fix firmly in his heart the awe of thy great divinity." [o] He calls

[o] The inscription is given in Roman letters and translated into English by Mr H. Fox Talbot, Journal R. A. S. vol. xix pp. 193–198. The king calls himself at the outset *Nabo-imduk sar Babel* and in Col. ii. line 19, *Nabo Nid sar Babel*. By the monuments he appears to have been the son of a certain *Nabu . . . dirba* who (like Neriglissar or Nergalsharezer) is called *Rab-Mag* (as Hebrew Scripture has it) or *Rubu-emga*, as the cuneiform word is read. See George Rawlinson's Herod.

himself twice king of Babylon, but he does not, like Nebukhadrezzar in his inscriptions, speak of a kingly father. Nay, we learn from Abydenus that he was not related to his predecessor Laborosoarkhod, who by the mother was Nebukhadrezzar's grandson.[p] Altogether, we are able to discern in this king of Babylon a regent only: the tutor of the son of his wife Nitokris, the second ruler in the kingdom. When, in the year of the coalition with Crœsus, and apparently with Amasis also king of Egypt, the young Laborosoarkhod, son and successor of Neriglissar, that is, of the sister's husband, assassin, and successor of Evil-Merodakh son and successor of the great Nebukhadrezzar,[q] had been beaten to death by the courtiers, Nabonedus was put into his place not as next heir, but (it would seem) as guardian of the rightful heir: which office (it would seem) had fallen to him through

vol. i. p. 520, note. We may infer from the office of his father and from his introducing himself in his Assyrian inscription by the Hamite form of his name, while he gives the Assyrian form afterwards and as it were in explanation, that he was of Chaldæan origin and education: *Rubu-imga* (as Mr H. Fox Talbot writes the title common to Neriglissar and to Nabonedus's father) is rendered by him, "great (glorious or good) prince," and by Sir H. C. Rawlinson is conjectured to signify "chief priest."

p Abydenus remarked, ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. ix. 41, that Nabonedus was not related to his predecessor; and by Berosus, ap. Joseph. he is styled Ναβόννηδός τις τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος. See George Rawlinson's Herod. vol. i. p. 519.

q That Evil Merodakh Εὐειλμαραδουχος (in the Canon of Ptolemy *Iloarudamos)* was son and successor of Nebukhadrezzar: also, that he was conspired against and slain by his sister's husband Neriglissar, is stated by Berosus, ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. i. 20. The Canon assigns to his reign the years of Nabonassar 187 and 188. Neriglissar is identified with a king, the legend on whose bricks in a ruin on the site of Babylon still bears a name read as *Nergal-shar-uzur;* and also with one of the princes of the great Nebukhadrezzar (his father by marriage) named *Nergalsharezer* in Jerem. xxxix. 3, 13. See George Rawlinson's Herod. vol. i. p. 518, and Bampton Lectures p. 441. For the relationship of Evil Merodakh to Nebukhadrezzar, and of Neriglissar to Evil Merodakh, is also cited Abydenus, ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. i. 10, and ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. ix. 41. To Neriglissar, Ptolemy's Canon, which calls him Nirikassolassarus, assigns a reign of four years of Nabonassar 189, 190, 191 and 192.

a marriage with the widowed mother of that heir.[r] Belshazzar was the heir, and Nabonedus, being apparently his step-father, ruled in his right by the decision of the princes of Babylon. Therefore, when the prophet Daniel dates one vision, "in the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon," and another vision, "in the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar," the same whom he calls "Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans," in recording, that he was slain on the night of the banquet and that Darius the Mede took the kingdom, we conclude as to those dates, that the former is the year called in Ptolemy's Canon and by Berosus the first year of Nabonedus; and that the latter is the year which those authorities regard as the third of Nabonedus, the year after the overthrow of Crœsus, when the successor of Astyages king of the Medes, whose claim to be Esther's Ahasuerus we are considering, was in the sixth year of his reign at Ekbatana. But what then? Why, this—that in the third year of Belshazzar, if we place it at the earliest, that is, at a position not lower than that of Nabonedus's third year, Susa was not yet in the power of the Medes and Persians. Consequently, the successor of Astyages had not divorced a queen there in the third year of his reign, B. C. 556; and did not now in his sixth year, B. C. 553 assemble maidens at the same capital in order to select among them a new queen. Therefore, he cannot be Esther's Ahasuerus.

[r] For Laborosoarkhod son of Neriglissar, his nine months' reign and death, (ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀτεσυμπανίσθη) the authority is Berosus *(ap. Joseph. cont. Apion.* i. 21 ;) also Abydenus, fragments 8 and 9. The husband to whom Nitokris bore Belshazzar, must have been a son of Nebukhadrezzar, perhaps Evil Merodakh. See Jerem. xxviii. 7. Nitokris herself was, it is very clear, of the family of Pharaoh Hophra or Apries, the king of Egypt who was conquered by Nebukhadrezzar. We suspect her to be the person called *Nitétis* daughter of *Apries* in two or three varying stories which were current in Herodotus's time and which we find reported in Herod. iii. 1–3.

III.

LET us explain this argument. During the reign at Babylon of the great king of the Chaldæans, Nebukhadrezzar, Elam, or Kissia, the country of which Susa was the capital, was thoroughly broken and subdued by the king of Babylon. This we have already noticed. It is here to be pointed out, that, so far at least as Susa is concerned, (notwithstanding the desertion to the Medes of Abradatas king of Susa, before the overthrow of Crœsus, if that story of Xenophon's be a fact, and rightly dated,[a]) the state of subjection continued at a date so low as, at the least, the third year of Nabonedus, the year of Nabonassar 195, or B. C. 553. This we do by citing Daniel's account of the circumstances under which he beheld the vision of the Medo-Persian Ram and the Rough Goat of Yavan, or (to use the antique Greek instead of the Hebrew and Assyrian form) the Iaonian race. He writes; "In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar a vision appeared unto me . . . and I saw in a vision; and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan the palace, which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai." After the vision, he tells us, he fainted and was sick certain days. "Afterward," says he, "I arose and did the king's (Belshazzar's) business."[b] From these citations it would appear, that the prophet, who, because of the spirit of "the holy gods" that was in him, had in the days of Nebukhadrezzar been made master of the wise men of Babylon, "the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldæans, and the soothsayers,"[c]

[a] Xenoph. Cyrop. vi. 1 § 45, vii. 1 § 32. [b] Dan. viii. 1, 2, 27.
[c] Dan. v. 11; iv. 6–9. George Rawlinson (Bampton Lectures, notes, pp. 437, 438) writes thus, "The word which we translate *Magicians* in Dan. i. 20, ii. 2, 10. &c. is *Khartummim* . . . . . which is derived from *Kheret* . . . . . 'a graving tool.' See Buxtorf's *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* ad voc. Babylonian documents are sometimes written on clay: where the character has been impressed, before the clay was baked, by a tool with a triangular point. But they are also frequently

was employed, by Nabonedus or by Nitokris the queen, in the royal affairs at Susa, when he saw the vision. Whether he was actually on the bank of the river Ulai when he beheld the vision, or only believed himself to be there, is more doubtful. Yet, if he was employed at Susa, the river-side would, according to Jewish practice in later times,[d] be a place of prayer to him, and the river is not concerned in the action which he beheld. The place is only connected with the vision as one which was to be the chief seat of the power of the Ram under the Persian kings. If Daniel was in the flesh at Susa when he saw the vision, Susa still belonged to the king of Babylon; and if so, the supposition is impossible that the son of Astyages played there the part of Esther's Ahasuerus in the third and sixth years of his reign, which were respectively the last regnal year of Neriglissar king of Babylon and the third of Belshazzar. That Susa was still in subjection to the king of Babylon, a fact which the very desertion of Abradatas to the Medes demonstrates, may also be argued from the course of the conquests of the Medo-Persian Ram. This was, according to the prophet's vision, "westward and northward and southward."[e] The first five years after the succession of Darius the Mede were spent in the advance of Cyrus to the Ægæan sea, that is, westward. Elam, therefore, which lay southward, extending to the Erythræan sea or Persian gulf, had not yet been assailed. Nor was it to be assailed, we may believe, till Cyrus's wars in the north with the Baktrians and with

on stone, large pebbles from the Euphrates's bed; in which case they have been engraved with a fine chisel." There must be an etymological connection between *Kheret*, the Hamite writing-tool, and the Greek and Latin term χάρτης and *Charta*, applied to the substance on which men, as for instance S. John (2 Epist. verse 12, and 3 Epist. verse 13) wrote with ink and a reed. I have heard a soldier of the old school call persons, who perhaps would have been honoured among the Hamites of Babylonia and of Egypt, but whom he did not hold in high esteem, "pen and ink men." Daniel, being at the head of this class, was as a matter of course employed in the king's "civil service."

[d] See Acts xvi. 13.

[e] Dan. viii. 4.

the Sakæ had been brought to a successful end.[f] Then at last, the conqueror turned towards Babylon and its still subject provinces; nor was the great city taken till fifteen years had passed away after the fall of Sardis; and till the Mede, the successor of Astyages, had reigned at Agbatana, while Cyrus was commanding in the Median wars, for twenty years. Another interval very nearly as long elapsed, during which the Persian succeeded to the throne which he had made so great, and occupied it for seven years. At last, Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, turning the arms of the Persians and Medes against Egypt, whose king Amasis, (the old confederate of Crœsus and of the king of Babylon) had (how we know not) mightily incensed the great king, added that realm to the list of subject provinces, before Amasis had been dead, and his son had filled his throne, for more than six months.[g] It was in this conquest that the Ram which Daniel had seen in his vision at Susa about nine and twenty years before, pushed furthest towards the south.

[f] From Sardis Cyrus returned to Agbatana, carrying Crœsus with him; Herod. i. 153. Barénê, a city and district near Agbatana, was assigned as a principality to Crœsus, as we have related in a former note on the authority of Ktesias. So, afterwards, Karmania, according to Berosus (Frag. 14) and Abydenus, (Frag. 9) was assigned to the conquered Nabonedus. Hence we can conjecture how it came to pass that, according to Ktesias, the vanquished king of the Sakæ became Cyrus's devoted friend. Herodotus i. 153 makes Cyrus on his departure from Sardis, meditate war "against Babylon, the Bactrians, the Sakæ, and Egypt;" whence one might suppose that, in the belief of the historian, the capture of Babylon was the great success which followed next after the fall of Sardis. But the interval of fifteen years was not a time of peace for the Medes and Persians: and Herodotus i. 77 relates that, leaving the conquest of the lower parts of Asia to be completed by his lieutenants, Cyrus in person subjected the upper regions, conquering every nation and not suffering one to escape: and when he had brought all the rest of the continent under his sway, he made war on the Assyrians, *i. e.* the Babylonian inheritors of the Assyrian empire.

[g] Herod. iii. 10, 14: Beh. Inscrip. Col. 1, paras. 6 and 10.

IV.

To adduce other arguments is needless to disprove the claim of Cyrus's predecessor to be Esther's Ahasuerus. Otherwise, in justification of that claim it might be alleged, and we might be called upon to scrutinize the fact, that the 120 princes (satraps) whom according to Daniel [a] it pleased Darius the Mede to set over the whole kingdom, apparently as receivers of the revenues from the several provinces, indicating a like number of provinces and of provincial treasuries, prove the Mede to have been a mighty monarch. Moreover, this great extent of dominion is confirmed by the style of his letters, which, according to Daniel, he wrote, like another Nebukhadrezzar, "to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth." [b] We may not refuse to believe that this greatness of his position was alleged to justify the measure insidiously pressed upon him by his princes, not that the king, like Nebukhadrezzar, should set up an image, should assemble to the dedication of it, "the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces," and should cause all at a given signal to fall down before the image and worship it, on pain of being cast into a burning furnace if they disobeyed, but that the king should sign a writing which they had prepared, forbidding all persons, on pain of being devoured by the lions, to ask a petition of any god or man, except the king, for thirty days.[c]

[a] Dan. vi. 1. [b] Dan. vi. 25. Compare Dan. iv. 1.

[c] Dan. vii. 7 &c. Compare Dan. iii. 1–6 &c. Note, that Darius's signature made the decree unchangeable according to the law of the Medes and Persians, that no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed, Dan. vi. 15. This is enough to confute the theory that the Mede was "a viceroy set up by Cyrus;" that Cyrus may have established his grand-father, the dethroned Astyages, (known to the Jews as Darius the Mede) as vice-king of Babylon, or that, if Darius the Mede cannot be Astyages, (which is indeed impossible, since he was sixty-two years

Great, however, as the empire of Darius the Mede undoubtedly was, especially at the close of his reign after the conquest of Babylon, the empire of Esther's Ahasuerus, was larger still. At its full growth it consisted of 127 provinces, extending from India to Ethiopia. During the reign of the last of the Medes, nay, during the reign of his successor Cyrus, the throne of Egypt was still occupied, as we have seen, by one who in B. C. 554, according to Herodotus,[d] had been the ally of Crœsus and of Belshazzar's step-father the regent Nabonedus. Amasis undoubtedly had owned the lordship of the great king of the Chaldæans Nebukhadrezzar, the conqueror of his predecessor Apries or Hophra; but, as the Chaldean power declined, neither inclination nor the example of the fate of Crœsus would probably induce him to venture much in behalf of Babylon. If Cyrus, after he came to the throne of Darius the Mede, restored to Egypt her captives, as he, perhaps, it was who sent home the scattered captives of Elam,[e] and as in the first year of his reign in B. C. 536 he certainly authorised and exhorted the people of Jehovah to return to Judah and Jerusalem, he was the benefactor of Amasis; and probably was acknowledged to be lord paramount of Egypt. Nevertheless, the country continued to have a king of its own, so that, lying as it did between Ethiopia and the southern frontier of Cyrus's empire, neither Darius the Mede nor Cyrus reigned from India to Ethiopia.

Not to touch here a chronological argument, which will be produced from the book Esther against a later king than Darius the Mede, we might refute this king's claim to be Esther's Ahasuerus (if further refutation were required)

old when by the success of his general he was put in possession of Babylon, and therefore, was born three years after the treaty which espoused the daughter of Alyattes to Astyages,) then that he was a Median noble entrusted by Cyrus with the government of Babylon. See George Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures, pp. 171 and 445.

[d] Herod. i. 77.

[e] See the restoration of her exiles to Egypt after the forty years, foretold, Ezek. xxix. 12–14. For the restoration of Elam, see Jerem. xlix. 39.

by the observation, that in E. N. 201, the twelfth year of his reign as successor to Astyages at Agbatana, the bulk of the Jews, properly so called, must have been in a country where no edict of his, like that which Haman obtained from Esther's lord, would have availed at all; that is, in the yet independent Babylonia, where they had been planted by Nebukhadrezzar. But, according to the description given in the book Esther, there were Jews scattered through all the 127 provinces of the great king's dominion. Now, if before the conquest of Babylon there were Israelites scattered every where throughout the Medo-Persian dominions, still we have reason to be confident they would not at that time have been designated Judæans or Jews. It was not till after the captives of Judah and Benjamin, with the family of Aaron their priests, and with the other Levites, had begun to return from Babylon to the land of their fathers, under that proclamation concerning the rebuilding of Jehovah's house at Jerusalem which Cyrus issued in B. C. 536, on succeeding to the throne of Darius son of Ahasuerus the Mede at Babylon—not till then, did it begin to come to pass, that the names of all the other tribes of the sons of Jacob merged in that of Judah; and Judæans or Jews became an appellation synonymous with Beni Israel or Children of Israel. Then, certainly, of all the sons of Jacob, Judah became the one whom his brethren, such as remembered still the law of Moses and looked to the land of their fathers as their proper home, must have concurred to praise: thereby fulfilling a prophecy, uttered of old by their common ancestor Jacob surnamed Israel, and which their lawgiver Moses had recorded.[f] All that had any national or ancestral feelings left, any faith in the God of their fathers, now prided themselves in Judah, who alone had recovered the lot of his inheritance in the land of Israel. They praised our God for him as his mother had done at his birth.[g]

In the days of David and Solomon, Judah seemed already

[f] Gen. xlix. 8.

[g] Gen. xxix. 35.

the chosen of God, the pride of the sons of Israel: and the share obtained by the tribe of Benjamin in the holy city Jerusalem caused that tribe to merge in Judah. Further, the original allotment, whereby the priests, the sons of Aaron, obtained all their cities within the borders of Judah, produced a like effect in their case. And the assignment of their ministry and endowments to a new priesthood of his own by Jeroboam, when, after Solomon's death, he became king of the ten tribes that in jealousy of Judah separated themselves from the kings of the house of David, compelled the remainder of the tribe of Levi to take refuge with Judah.[h] But while the kingdom of Jeroboam and his successors, of several different houses, continued, the tribe of Ephraim divided the homage of the nation with Judah. And when this kingdom, which (apparently because it comprehended the larger number of Israelite tribes) was called Israel, and which was also called from the chief of its tribes Ephraim, was for ever destroyed at the fall of Samaria in B. C. 721, the first year of Sargon king of Assyria, when (according to an Assyrian inscription[i]) 27,280 families were carried off into Assyria in order ultimately (according to the Hebrew records[j]) to be planted in cities of the Medes that the Assyrians had conquered, there is no evidence, nor, apparently, any reason for supposing, that they or their descendants assumed to themselves the name of the subjects of the house of David, either while that house still preserved its royal attributes, or, after the destruction of Jerusalem in B. C. 587, so long as the only body of survivors was in captivity at Babylon. But, at the time when the book Esther was written, Judæan, or Jew, was the name, not merely of a tribe, a kingdom, or a local population, but of the widely dispersed followers of the Mosaic Law; a Catholic Church, of which all the males were circumcised. It was a name given to a man, not because of his descent nor of his habitation, but of his religion. For we read in the book Esther that "many

[h] 2 Chron. xi. 13–16.

[i] See George Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. 1, p. 472.

[j] See 2 Kings xviii. 11; xvii. 6.

of the people of the land became Jews," in consequence of what befell in the twelfth regnal year of Esther's lord.[k] Such we know is the acceptation of the name in the sacred books of the New Testament, as well as in the works of Josephus, and in other Hellenist writings; although Josephus, like S. Paul, owns the Jewish nation in his time (proselytes of course excepted) to be the progeny of the original twelve tribes;[l] a fact which might alone, one would think, prove futile all attempts to identify the ten tribes of the Assyrian captivity with any single nation now existing in the world. Those of the twelve tribes that from time to time fell away from the nation which served the One God day and night, as S. Paul says: those who, neglecting the circumcision of their males, as well as all other points of the Mosaic Law, began to serve wood and stone (as it had been foretold of them[m]), merged of course, they and their descendants, into the several heathen nations amidst the population of which they had settled. They became undistinguishable from their neighbours, in respect of religion, language, or tradition, and, there being no impediment to interchange of daughters in marriage, they became blended with their neighbours of like wealth or poverty, like estimation, and like political privileges with themselves. It was in the knowledge of this transformation, that the Jews of Jerusalem, when our Lord, the Good Shepherd, shortly before His crucifixion (in A. D. 29) told them that He should soon go away from them, and they should find Him no more, asked one another, "Will He go to the dispersed among the Gentiles and teach the Gentiles?" So, no doubt, even His disciples would be prone to account for that Gentile flock He alluded to afterwards, when He said, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring; and they shall hear My Voice; and there shall be one fold and one Shepherd."[n]

[k] Esth. viii. 17.

[l] See Josephus in the Introduction to his Jewish War, S. Paul in Acts xxvi. 7.

[m] See Deut. xxviii. 36, 64. iv. 28.

[n] S. John vii. 35, and x. 16.

CHAPTER III.

I.

It is now proved, that the Ahasuerus of the book Esther was not the single Medo-Persian monarch who can be supposed, with any reason, able to have established his throne at Susa. He was not that Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes, who, through the success of the Medes and Persians commanded by Cyrus against the royal city of the realm of the Chaldæans, acquired a new and a more splendid throne and capital than that of Astyages and the other preceding Median kings; his edicts, still the immutable laws of the Medes and Persians, and his letters, now addressed, in the style of the great king, to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth. Thus, too, has a previous argument been confirmed, which was derived from the style of the king the husband of Esther, and was employed at the outset to prove him one of that Persian line of kings of whom the first, the successor of Darius the Mede, is called by Daniel, Cyrus the Persian,[a] Cyrus king of Persia:[b] and the last (perhaps to distinguish his nation from that of Alexander his conqueror), in certain additions to the Hebrew book of Nehemiah, is named Darius the Persian,[c] but elsewhere, more distinctively, Darius son of Arsames, Darius Codomannus, or Darius the third.

[a] Dan. vi. 28. [b] Dan. x. 1; Ezra i. 1, 2, 3.
[c] Nehem. xii. 22; compare 1 Macc. i. 1; vi. 2. also Joseph. Antiq. xi. from § 2 of chap. 7 to § 7 of chap. 8.

We have now to enquire, with which king of the Persian dynasty the Ahasuerus of the book "Esther" ought to be identified.

Was he Cyrus, the first of that royal line? Neither before nor after his accession to the throne at Babylon in B. C. 536 can Cyrus act the part of Esther's Ahasuerus. Not after, because Ahasuerus married Esther in the seventh year of his reign; and because at his wicked favourite Haman's instigation, he first decreed the destruction of the Jews, then, informed by Esther, put Haman to death, advanced Esther's cousin Mordecai to Haman's office, and caused the decree against the Jews to turn to the destruction of their enemies, in the twelfth year of his reign. Cyrus might have feasted at Susa in his third year like Esther's Ahasuerus; for Daniel's last vision is dated in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia.[d] This was the fifth year after the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, or the year B. C. 534, according to the testimony of Hebrew Scriptures, confirming and interpreting, while itself it is confirmed and interpreted by, Ptolemy's Canon. We speak of Scripture testimony as to the reign of Darius the Mede; as to the first year of the reigns of Nebukhadrezzar and of Cyrus; as to the seventy years' sojourn of the Jews at Babylon, which commenced with that Jewish civil year, the fourth of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, and ended with the sixth Mosaic month in the first year of Cyrus, the day before the re-building of the altar of burnt offering at Jerusalem; lastly, as to the preceding 115 Jewish civil years. These are, the previous regnal years of Jehoiakim, . . . 3,

of Josiah, ... 31,

of Amon, ... 2,

of Manasseh, . . . 55,

of Hezekiah, . . . 24, up to and including the sixth regnal year of Hezekiah when Samaria was taken in the first regnal year of Sargon king of Assyria, which was

[d] Dan. x. 1. For the connection between Hebrew and Babylonian chronology, see the author's Vindication of Ptolemy's Canon, in Journal R. A. S. vol. xviii.

(according to Sargon's annals) the first regnal year of Merodakh Baladan king of Babylon, or, (according to Ptolemy's Canon, where Merodakh Baladan is, perhaps by a Hamite version of his name, Mardokempadus,) in the twenty-seventh year of Nabonassar. This testimony of Hebrew Scripture proves Cyrus's first regnal year at Babylon to be the third of the new dominion after the capture of Babylon, and proves that the fifth year of the new dominion (called Median in Ptolemy's Canon) was the year B. C. 534 or rather the year of Nabonassar 214. It does so by the aid of Ptolemy's Canon of the reigns at Babylon, from that of Nabonassar downwards, according to which as we have said the first of Mardokempadus is the twenty-seventh from Nabonassar's accession, and therefore began Feb. 20, B. C. 721, while Hezekiah's sixth year began with the Jewish civil year in the autumn of B. C. 721. Before the recent discovery of the two important facts, that Samaria was taken in the first year of Sargon, and that the first year of Sargon was the first year of Mardokempadus, similar chronological conclusions had been attained by taking the evidence of the Canon of Babylonian reigns, in connection with that of Holy writ, as to the seventy years' captivity; as to the commencement of Nebukhadrezzar's reign in the annals of Judah; and as to the reign of Darius son of Ahasuerus the Mede, intervening after the death of Nabonedus's son (that is, step-son) Belshazzar, and before the reign of Cyrus, at Babylon.[e] These conclusions are

[e] By Usher, by Clinton, and undoubtedly by others. See Usher's date, in the margin of the English vulgate Bible, for the Assyrian capture of Samaria and for the first regnal year of Cyrus. It is useless to commend to the notice of adversaries of the "God-breathed" Scriptures the example of scholars such as Usher and Clinton; though in the matter before us their confidence in Scripture prophecy and Scripture history, on the one hand, and in Theon's version of Ptolemy's Canon, on the other, has been so signally justified. But readers of this volume ought not to forget it. As to the discoveries which have verified the prior calculation that the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah was about the year B. C. 721, Sir H. C. Rawlinson writes in the Athenæum of May 31, 1862, "Whether the attribution of the capture of Samaria to Sargon's first year be wrong or right, I alone am responsible for it.

confirmed by the narrative of the Jewish historian Josephus as to the length of Darius's intervening reign.

But, albeit that Cyrus may be supposed, for he was able, to have held a feast at Susa (though scarcely in ire to have divorced a Vashti) in the third year of his reign as Great King, in succession to Darius the Mede, he cannot possibly have acted the part of Esther's Ahasuerus in a seventh and a twelfth regnal year. For, (according to Ptolemy's Canon) Cyrus was dead and his son Cambyses was in his place on the throne at Babylon in the year B. C. 529, the tenth

The discovery originated with myself, that an imperfect fragment of the annals of Sargon's first year (Khors. Ins. pl. 70) was an amplified version of the account of the capture of Samaria, and the deportation of its inhabitants, which appeared in a perfect though compressed form in the usual historical summary." Further research, it is added, satisfied Sir H. C. Rawlinson, that he had correctly identified the subject matter of the one document with that of the portion indicated of the other. The "Summary" of Sargon's history above-mentioned must be those Annals of his, for the first fifteen years of his reign, which are mentioned in G. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 472, and from which, as it seems, G. Rawlinson cites the statement of Sargon, that "in his own twelfth year he drove Merodach Baladan out of Babylon after he had reigned twelve years." Ptolemy's Canon, according to Theon's copy, identifies the first of the twelve years of Mardokempadus (the only king of the Chaldæan list who reigned twelve years) with the year N. E. 27; and enables us now to do the same for Sargon's first year. But the year N. E. 27 is the 365 days which began six and a half days earlier in the Julian year than exactly twenty-six Julian years after the twenty-fifth and a half of February B. C. 747 or than exactly twenty-six Julian years less than the sum of 746 years and 308½ days before the common date of the Incarnation. Briefly, the year N. E. 27 began with the nineteenth of February B. C. 721; and in the course of that year of Nabonassar (the whole of which according to the rule of the Canon, is ascribed to the successor) the predecessor of Mardokempadus made room for him. Sir H. C. Rawlinson obtains this year B. C. for the capture of Samaria, not from Ptolemy's Canon, but from Ptolemy's record in Μεγαλ. Συνταξ. iv. 8 of lunar eclipses in the first and second years of Mardokempadus, at dates which modern astronomers have verified in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of Nabonassar. These and other eclipses, dated by years of both the particular king and of Nabonassar, are cited by Dodwell, in his notes on Theon's copy of Ptolemy's Canon, to shew the genuineness and authenticity of that document.

of the Median and Persian supremacy which began when Belshazzar was slain in Babylon at its capture, and when Nabonedus, having surrendered to Cyrus the neighbouring city Borsippa, was permitted to live in comfort but ceased to reign. Admitting Josephus's testimony in explanation, we must conclude that Cyrus reigned the last seven only, and Darius the Mede the first two of the nine years which (with a disregard of Darius the Mede just like its previous omission of the name though not of the regnal years of Belshazzar) the Canon gives all to Cyrus. We shall have occasion hereafter to point out in Xenophon's work on Cyrus, a corroboration of the conclusion that Cyrus reigned seven years only of the nine between the fall of the Chaldæan power, and the reign of Cambyses. Nor did Cyrus like Esther's Ahasuerus, at any time of his life, reign over all the countries from India to the Ethiopia on the upper Nile. It has been already noticed that, during the whole of Cyrus's reign, Amasis remained king in Egypt; and he reigned on such terms of amity or deference with the Persian as once (we are told) at Cyrus's desire to have sent him an eminent eye-doctor, and (it would seem) to have obtained from their new master the restoration of those Egyptians that like the Jews had been transplanted to Babylon by Nabukhadrezzar.[f] Hence it is impossible to believe that Cyrus could have acted the part of Esther's Ahasuerus during the earlier two and twenty years of his life, which were passed between the dethronement of Astyages in B. C. 558 and his own succession to Darius the Mede in B. C. 536. Besides, during that period Cyrus at the most was but second to Darius the Mede, being captain-general of his armies; and certainly during the first six years of the interval (perhaps much longer) Susa was no part of the kingdom of the Mede, being subject to the Chaldæan kings of the house of Nabukhadrezzar at Babylon.

[f] Herod. iii. 1. For the forty years' captivity of Egypt, extending apparently from the thirty-fifth of Nebukhadrezzar or B. C. 572, to B. C. 533, the fourth of Cyrus, see Ezekiel xxix. 12–14, 17–19, &c.

II.

THEN, Was Esther wife of the second king of the Persian line, Cambyses, or rather *Kambujiya*, Cyrus's son and successor? Both the place and the date of some of the transactions recorded in Esther are conclusive in the negative. Cambyses, indeed, is entitled Ahasuerus in the book of Ezra:[a] just as Darius the Mede's father is in Daniel, and as the leader of the Babylonian's Median allies is in the apocryphal book Tobit. Cambyses also added to the Persian empire, Egypt with the Libyans on the western border and the northern Ethiopians who were dependent upon Egypt; so that in extent of dominion he equalled the Ahasuerus of Esther more nearly than any of his predecessors. However, he did not make himself master of Memphis, the capital and Psammenitus the king of Egypt, before the fifth year of his own reign,[b] and the sixth month of the first regnal year of Psammenitus: that is, not till June in the year B. C. 525.[c] But it is

[a] Ezra iv. 6.

[b] So the Egyptian Manetho, as quoted (according to Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, pp. 141, 143,) by both Africanus and Eusebius. Ptolemy's table of reigns at Babylon shews that this fifth year of Cambyses was the year N. E. 223, or the 365 days which began with the 2d of January B. C. 525.

[c] The success of Cambyses was consummated in the sixth calendar month of Egypt (namely the month *Mechir*, according to Sir J. G. Wilkinson's account of the Egyptian months, in George Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. pp. 283, 284.) We infer so much from Herodotus's representation, Herod. iii. 14, that Psammenitus son of Amasis had reigned but six months (of his first regnal year) when conquered by Cambyses: for it is to be borne in mind that the Egyptian annalists reckoned the year in which a king died entirely to his successor. The first day of *Mechir* in the year N. E. 223, the fifth of Cambyses at Babylon, was one day more than five times thirty days after, and exclusive of, the first day of January B. C. 525; that is, it was the first of June, the 152nd day of the year B. C. 525. In the course of this month, and therefore, before the yearly overflow of the Nile, Memphis was taken. This conclusion is quite consistent with the statement of Diodorus, i. 68, who places the death of Amasis in the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad; or in the Greek year which came to its close about Midsummer B. C. (776–62 × 4 + 3, or 251 years,=) 525.

more to the purpose to observe that Cambyses never returned alive to Persia and Media; he was never more beheld as king at the Persian Pasargadæ, at the Median Agbatana, or at the Kissian Susa, and therefore could not have acted the part of Esther's Ahasuerus at Susa in the seventh year of his reign. Moreover, his reign did not extend to a twelfth year, the regnal season of the last dated transactions of the king in the book "Esther." He died after having reigned (according to Herodotus) seven years and five months, or eight years if (as in Egypt the royal annals appear to have had it, and as is done in Ptolemy's Babylonian Canon) we include the remainder of that eighth Egyptian year, being seven months of the eight that the Persian throne was occupied by a Magian impostor before Darius son of Hystaspes recovered the kingdom to the Persians and to the family of Hakhâmanish, in the year B. C. 521, acording to Ptolemy's Canon.[d]

While Cambyses was still absent on his Egyptian expedition, Herodotus tells us that a Magian named Patizeithes, left keeper of his house by the king at his departure, placed a brother of his own on the royal throne, introducing him as a son of Cyrus, and brother of Cambyses, Smerdis by name, and proclaiming him henceforth king instead of Cambyses, with the new name (as it would seem from Ezra[e]) of Artakhshasta or Artaxerxes, more properly *Artakhshatra*. At this ceremony we may suppose the king's chair to have been set out on a terrace or balcony; the royal umbrella to have been held by an attendant eunuch over the impostor's head, and the people to have been assembled below. Heralds next were sent every where with the edict which announced that Smerdis son of Cyrus was king, and was to be obeyed instead of Cambyses. As it happened, Cambyses (having left probably the larger part of his army with Aryandes his newly-appointed Satrap,[f] to occupy Egypt, at Memphis

[d] See Herod. iii. 67. This historian's dates for the reigns of Cambyses, of the Magian, of Hystaspes' son Darius, and of Xerxes, must have been derived from Egyptian contemporary monuments.

[e] Ezra iv.

[f] Herod. iv. 166.

the capital of the lower country, at Daphnœ or Tahpanhes on the Syrian frontier, and at Elephantiné on that of Ethiopia,[g]) was now in Syria. This fact Herodotus supposes to have been unknown to the Magian, or not to have happened yet, when the couriers were dispatched; so that the very courier who had been entrusted with the new king's edict or circular letter to the army in Egypt encountered Cambyses in camp at Agbatana of Syria. Having heard the letter or proclamation, and having questioned the messenger, after brief consultation with the agent whom he had privately employed several years before to slay his brother Smerdis, Cambyses resolved to march forthwith against his rival; but, in mounting his horse, the metal cap with which the sheath of his dagger was guarded at the point having accidentally fallen off, he wounded himself in the thigh where (said Herodotus's Egyptian informants) he had before wounded mortally their god Apis. Feeling his hurt to be mortal, like Shakespear's Henry IV. in the Jerusalem chamber, Cambyses asked the name of the city where they were, and being answered Agbatana, he perceived that he had mistaken the oracle in Egypt, which had told him that he should die at Agbatana, when he had supposed the royal city of the Medes to be meant. About twenty days after he called a council of Persians of greatest note, confessed to them that he had been induced to slay his brother Smerdis; and died without children of either sex. Thus speedily failed the race of the great Cyrus. Alexander, Cæsar, and the first Napoleon, may be compared with him for this particular; nor did the family of Nabukhadrezzar last much longer.

Herodotus, not caring to divest himself of the notions of his own time, seems to suppose Cyrus, Cambyses, and the Magian Pseudo-Smerdis all to have resided principally at Susa.[h] Cambyses, therefore, he regards as supplanted

[g] Herod. ii. 30. iii. 91.

[h] For the case of Cyrus, see Herod. i. 188, where yet the narrative of Cyrus's operation on the river Gyndes while on his way against Babylon, shews that he marched from Agbatana.

by the Pseudo-Smerdis at Susa; yet the prophecy which deceived Cambyses was that he should die at Agbatana, and the Pseudo-Smerdis we know from the Behistun inscription, arose at first in Persis and was slain at a place in Media.

III.

But where in Syria was the Agbatana at which (according to the account Herodotus heard in Egypt) Cambyses met the news that one calling himself Smerdis son of Cyrus had usurped his throne?

Years ago, in a first draft, which has furnished the form of argument, and much of the matter to this part of the present volume, pains were taken to prove that Herodotus's Syrian Agbatana is the Hamath or rather *Khamath* of the Hebrew records, and of the lately disinterred Assyrian inscriptions; a city to which the Greek name *Epiphaneia* was given in the days of the Macedonian kings of Syria, the Seleucidæ; but which retains its original name slightly corrupted in the modern Hamah.

The same view is taken by a late editor of Herodotus, Mr Blakesley.[a] However, now we incline to believe that Agbatana (as Herodotus writes the name) or *Hagamatâna*, as it stands in the Aryan part of the Behistun inscription, was a significant appellation, suitable at one time, and unsuitable at another, to the same place, or

[a] Quoted by George Rawlinson on Herod. iii. 62. He tells us also that Hyde, Relig. Vet. Persarum. App. p. 416, thinks that the town (?) named in Greek ἡ Βαταναια, which George Rawlinson asserts to be at the present day in Arabic *El-Bataniyeh*, the name of the district called Bashan in Scripture, was in Arabic corrupted into Ek-Batana or Ag-Batana, the prefixed syllable being the Arabic article *Al*. Such an origin of the belief that a Syrian town had the same name as the Median capital is credible; but of course the Median name itself was of Aryan origin; though, indeed, I once suspected it might have been given by an Aramæan colony planted in Media by an Assyrian conqueror, such as Sargon. Bochart (referred to by Mr Masson, Journal R. A. S. vol. xii. p. 123) derived Agbatana from Agbatha signifying in Arabic "variously-coloured."

suitable to different places at the same time. It is submitted to the reader that the name of the Median capital meant "Fire-temple" or "Fire-Abode," and had reference to the Magian religion though belonging to the Aryan language. Of the Fire-temple in modern Persian, the most common appellations, according to Sir William Ouseley,[b] are *Atesh-gah*, "Place of Fire," and *Atesh-khaneh* or *Ateshkhadeh*, "House of Fire."[c] The same is suggested to be the signification of the ancient name Agbatana, when, in the extant bilingual inscription which Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon placed on the pedestal of a column at Susa, we find the word Abatana in the Kissian, or Apadâna in the Aryan counterpart, translated "temple" by Mr Edwin Norris;[d] and when one recollects the

[b] Travels, vol. i. p. 126, note. He remarks that the Arabic name is *Beit Nâr*.

[c] If the kingdom of the Benhadads (υἱοὶ Ἀζὲξ in the Septuagint) whom Hebrew Scripture makes kings of Aram at Damascus, be really named *Atesh* in Assyrian records (as Sir H. C. Rawlinson deciphered the word in 1850; Journal R. A. S. vol. xii. pp. 440, 441.) one might be apt to think that in both *Azer* and *Atesh* we have indications of fire-worship in the neighbourhood of Hamath. Sir W. Ouseley says that, in Persian, *Atesh* and *Azer* seem to be synonymous, both signifying "Fire;" Travels, vol. i. p. 125, note. And Sir H. C. Rawlinson, in contending for the synonymousness of Mitradates and Atradates, says that Adar or Atra (whence Atropates and Atropaténé) was a title of the Sun or Fire.

[d] See Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 159; and compare what seems to be the same word, and to have its meaning given by the Assyrian counterpart in Behist. Inscr. col. i. para. 14. In modern Persian *abâd* has the same signification with the perhaps cognate Latin and English terms "habitatio," and "abode." Thus we take Agbatana or Hagamatâna to be equivalent to Ag-abâd and to signify Fire-abode. If Ag-abâd would have in Persian Grammar these two forms of the plural Ag-abadân and Ag-abâdân, the latter form might account for the long antepenultimate syllable in the Greek Agbatana or Ekbatana, and the first for the long penultimate in the Aryan Hagamatâna. The following is abbreviated from Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 251. "Ab hoc nomine Azur, vel Adur, ignis, denominatum fuit Azur-abâd (id est, 'Ignis mansio') celeberrimum Pyrêum in urbe Tabriz. Quin et ipsa urbs eodem nomine vocata fuit. Et deinde tota eadem regio Persis dicta est in plurali Azurabâdaghân, id est, 'Ignis mansiones'; idque quia Zerdusht id nominis dedit eidem regioni. Nomen alias scribitur Azurbâdaghân et Azurbâyaghân

familiar Hindi word signifying "Fire," namely *âg*, which is cognate to, or even the root of the Sanscrit *agni* and the Latin *ignis;* and is found as *âg*, *yâg*, and *oug*, among the gypsies of Egypt, or as *ag* among those of Syria. This short-vowelled form, *ag*, appears to be also in use among the gypsies of Sindh.[e] A like word *âg* or *ag* seems to be at the root of the Greek word ἅγιος, *hagios*, signifying Holy. Perhaps the name of the Median metropolis, which in the extant copies of the geographer Isidore of Kharax is written Apobatana, was by Isidore himself written Agobatana which is nearer to the Aryan form even than Agbatana. But as a Greek he may have written Hagiobatana.[f]

et Azurbâyajan." Observe, that we have here an illustration of the process by which Agabatana became Agbatana. I have since found in number fifteen of his Appendix, that for the etymology of the whole name of the Median capital, Hyde proposed what I had myself arrived at as the root of the latter portion. He writes (giving the terms in the Persian character as well as in the Roman) p. 576, "Vernaculé Aabâdân seu âbadân . . . est 'locus valde habitatus' . . . adeo ut Akbatana, cum *k* epenthetico, plenioris soni causâ, sit pro Aabâtân seu âbatân."

[e] See the late Captain Newbold's article on the Gipsies of various countries, in Journal R. A. S. vol. xvi. pp. 285–312. We will here observe that Mr Masson, commenting on Bochart's derivation, writes that *Agmatha* would better suit the modern form Hamadân, and we may add (though he did not know it) the original Aryan Hagamatana; also, that in cognate dialects with the one which we may suppose to have been current in ancient Media, *Agmatha* would mean the fire-temple or perhaps even the great temple *(query*, the great fire). See Journal R. A. S. vol. xii. p. 123.

[f] The MS. fragments of Isidore of Kharax contain other instances of mis-decipherment in the case of the Greek letter ρ. Thus the two MSS. of which the variations are appended to Monsieur E. Miller's text of Isidore, in his "Supplement aux dernières éditions des petits géographes Grecs," give ρ for τ, and ιι for ττ, at p. 252, in the very same sixth section in which they exhibit the name of the capital of Media written *Apobatana*. This has been left uncorrected; but their ἀγιξεάνης has been printed ἃ τιξεάνης, and for their Ἀδραπάναντα Hudson's edition (on what authority I am not informed) has Ἀδραγιάναντα. So, too, Mons. Miller reads γ for τ in the Ῥατιανῆς Μηδίας of the same MSS. p. 246, as M. de Sainte Croix had corrected the same name p. 252. In like manner we would substitute either γ or γι for π in the Βάπτανα of the MSS. and Edd. p. 252; for this city of Kampadene is the *Bagistana* of Diodorus ii.

Besides Herodotus's Syrian Agbatana, other places may be cited which have borne the name of Agbatana, no less than the city represented now by Hamadân. One of these was in Atropatené, or Atropatia, that north-westerly portion of Media towards Armenia where the satrap Atropates, from whom it derived its subsequent name, established a dominion for himself and his descendants after the Macedonian conquest of Asia. Their house of the kingdom for the summer [*query* winter] season, built in a plain, was Gazaka, but for the winter, [*query* summer] in a fortress called as it would seem not by a proper name but only by a common appellation, Wera or Var.[g] This

13, xvii. 110, and the now famous Behistun or Bisitun. Since this was written, I have obtained Carl Müller's Minor Greek Geographers (Paris, Didot). He prints, in § 6, Βάταναι for the MS Ἀτεβάτανα, and in § 5 with the MSS, Βάπτανα; but this place he inclines to identify as above. If Βάγταναι or Βαγίταναι for Βάπτανα in § 5 has to be defended as an equivalent of Βαγίστανα, we would refer to a notable instance below, where *st* has been changed to *t* in old Persian pronunciation. But the MS. Βάπτανα may perhaps be an abbreviated pronunciation of Βαγαπατᾶια signifying "God-abode," an intermediate form having been Bahapatâna.

[g] Strabo's text xi. 13 § 3 is certainly faulty. It is :—

βασίλειον δ' αὐτῶν θερινὸν μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ ἱδρυμένον Γάζα καὶ ἐν φρουρίῳ ἐρυμνῷ Οὔερα.

Here Kramer reads Γάζακα for Γάζα καὶ, and after this Groskurdius would insert χειμερινὸν δὲ. But one would think that the summer rather than the winter would be spent in a hill fort. The fort *Wera* may have been the royal quarter at Gazaka. Asinius Quadratus, in his history of the Parthian war in A. D. 161–165, quoted by Stephen of Byzantium, had the expression Γάζακα, πόλις μεγίστη τῆς Μηδίας. But Arrian (using the genitive singular τῆς Γαζάκου) called it κώμην μεγάλην in his Parthian wars of Trajan, indicating that, whether there was a fortress there or not, the general population did not live within fortifications. Ammianus Marcellinus distinguishes *Gazaca* from *Ecbatana*, in his xxiii. 6. In the name *Gazaca* a nasal *n* after the vowel of the first syllable appears to have existed, for the name in Armenian is said to be *Gandsak*, signifying "Treasure-place;" and the city is said to be called *Kanzaka* in the history which the Byzantine historians Theophanes and Cedrenus have given of its capture by the Roman Emperor Heraclius in about A. D. 623. It was then a city of 3000 houses. Supposing Strabo to have really spoken of two residences, Carl Müller would place Gazaca at the modern village *Leiban* or at the ruins called Kalai-Zohak. He refers to Ritter, tom. ix. p. 770, &c.

Gazaka or Ganzaka is identified by Sir H. C. Rawlinson with the Shiz of Oriental writers; and this again he shews to be the present *Takht-i-Soleimân*, a ruined fortress about three-quarters of a mile in circuit in the province of Adherbaijân. Although its walls seem to have been but titular, the ancient capital of Atropaténé, usually called *Ganzak Shâhasdân*, seem certainly to have been sometimes styled, "The second Ekbatana, the seven-walled city," at the end of our third century, under the reign of Tiridates, the first Christian king of Armenia.[h] But this does not, we think, afford us ground for supposing with Sir H. C. Rawlinson, in the tenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, that the Ekbatana of Herodotus, (which the historian seems to have described on the authority of Asiatics who had seen Athens rather than of Greeks who had visited the Median capital) was this city of Atropaténé. That title "the second Ekbatana, the seven-walled city" seems itself to allude to another and more ancient Ekbatana elsewhere.

In Kurdistân too, a few days' journey north of the modern Mosul, and of the ancient Nineveh, the town named *Amadiyah* was once, according to Rich, called Ecbatana. This assertion was casually confirmed to Mr Layard by a Nestorian, or Chaldæan, ecclesiastic who said that he had seen a very early Manuscript among his people in which Amadiyah was so named. The town and fort are built upon a lofty isolated rock in the plain or valley of the same name.[i]

The fact that the appellation Agbatana or Hagamatâna

[h] Tiridates, the ally of Rome, was restored to the throne of his fathers in Armenia, and the province of Atropaténé was ceded to him, by the peace of A. D. 298. For the fact that *Ganzac Shahasdan* in Atropaténé was sometimes called "the second *Ecbatana* the seven-walled city," they cite the Armenian historian Moses of Choréné ii. 84, and Sir Henry insists on this fact anew in George Rawlinson's Herodotus vol. i. p. 241. note. But there was an Ekbatana in Atropaténé in the geographer Ptolemy's time, if we may trust Hyde's reference.

[i] See Layard's Nineveh and its Remains, vol. i.

had a meaning suitable, under certain similar circumstances political or religious, to different places, might account for the fact, asserted by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, that there is no trace of such a name among the Median cities enumerated in the extant inscriptions of Sargon king of Assyria, who, reigning from B. C. 721 to B. C. 703, invaded Media in his seventh year, the year B. C. 715: though indeed, according to Herodotus, the founder of the Median metropolis, who reigned for a space equivalent to that from B. C. 708 to B. C. 656, had not yet, at the date of Sargon's invasion, begun his works. But if the site had a name already, before Deiokes, and if Sargon ever penetrated eastward beyond Kambadéné, the furthest subdivision of Lower Media, the place may be named by Sargon, though, as yet, it may be impossible to identify it.

In addition to the three cities above enumerated, which have borne the name of the Median metropolis, in Syria, in Atropatene, and in Kurdistan, there is yet another mentioned by Pliny, a town belonging to the Magi near Pasargadâ, that capital of Fars or Persis more ancient than Persepolis, where the tomb of Cyrus was still guarded by Magi at the time of the Macedonian conquest. Pliny writes; "Eastward, the Magi have possession of Pasargadâ (or Pasagardâ) a fort wherein is Cyrus's sepulchre, also their town Ecbatana, which was removed by king Darius to the mountains."[1] In the Mago-Persian religion, described as Persian by Herodotus, mountains were the properest

[1] Plin. N. H. vi. 26. "Ad orientem Magi obtinent Pasagardas, castellum in quo Cyri sepulchrum est, et horum Ecbatana oppidum, translatum à Dario rege ad montes." Perhaps the Magian occupation of Pasargadâ is connected with the settlement of the tribe called Pasargadâ on the coast of Carmania outside the Persian gulf, which is attested by Marcian of Heracléa in his first book in the section entitled *Carmanias Periplus*. His words in Miller's *Supplement* &c. p. 37, or in Carl Müller's Min. Gr. Geog. vol. i. p. 532, are these, ἀπὸ Καρπέλλης ἄκρας εἰς Κανθάτιν πόλιν στάδιοι ᾳ. Ἐνταῦθα παροικοῦσιν οἱ καλούμενοι Πασαργάδαι. For what follows, οὐ Καρμανῶν ὄντες ἐγγύς, I would accept Voss's correction, not of the first word but rather of the last, for which he reads γένους though I would prefer γένος.

places for prayer and sacrifice. Though in after-times represented as a reformer of Magianism, Darius Hystaspes' son, as we may be sure from the evidence of his inscriptions and of the festal commemoration yearly held of that slaughter of the Magi with which his reign commenced, would not relish the establishment of a fire-temple by the Magi within the precincts of Pasargadâ. For this cause probably it was, that he obliged all the sacerdotal tribe of the people among whom his own Aryan race had obtained a martial supremacy, to quit Pasargadâ and to plant themselves with their fire-temple on the neighbouring mountains. Yet, it appears, in after times (perhaps after the Macedonian conquest, when Pasargadâ and Persepolis alike suffered terribly) the influence of the Magi who had charge of the tomb of Cyrus became preponderant, so that Pliny's authorities could describe them as occupying not only their own establishment in the neighbourhood of Pasargadâ, but this ancient seat of the Persians itself.

The establishment, then, of fire-temples at the provincial capitals, is a practice of the Magi and their disciples under the Perso-Median empire, which we may venture to presume. It is illustrated by Berosus's statement that the image of the Assyrian goddess Anaitis, having been set up at Babylon, Susa, and Agbatana by Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon, (as for Susa, the only inscription we have of his, goes to prove, and as for Agbatana, we may more readily believe, from Plutarch's story that once when a lady, being permitted to choose, preferred the king's son to himself, Artaxerxes made her a priestess of Anaitis at Agbatana, and thereby debarred her from marriage) the devotion of the king was imitated at Persepolis, Baktra, Damascus, and Sardis; so that in all these places the Persians infringed a principle of their religion by setting up and worshipping an image.[k]

[k] On the inscription of Arsakes Artaxerxes mentioned in the text, which shews that the king had installed the goddess *Anahid* and the Aryan deity *Mithra* in a temple originally built by Darius son of

From the story told by Herodotus, if our etymology of the designation Agbatana be correct, we can only conclude that the place in Syria which it alluded to, as the scene of the death of Cambyses, was where the Magi had their fire-temple. But Berosus's statement above cited, as to the spread in the provinces, at a later date, of the worship of the goddess Anaitis, after the king had established it at his own principal places of residence,—this would lead us to fix on Damascus as the seat of the Magian fire-worship in Syria. And that Damascus was

Hystaspes at Susa, Mr Edwin Norris cites Berosus, as reported by Clemens Alexandrinus, thus:—

ἀνθρωποειδῆ ἀγάλματα σέβειν αὐτοὺς, Βήρωσσος ἐν τρίτῃ Χαλδαϊκῶν παρίστησι· τοῦτο Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὦχου εἰσηγησαμένου

[*i. e.* Arsakes Artaxerxes son of Darius the Bastard who was originally named Okhus]:—

ὃς πρῶτος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ταναΐδος τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναστήσας, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Σούσοις καὶ Ἐκβατάνοις, Πέρσαις

[*i. e.* to Persepolis]:—

καὶ Βάκτροις καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Σάρδεσιν ὑπέδειξε σέβειν.

See Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 161. From this specimen of his conduct and from the story of his life by Plutarch, we might be able to conclude that this king could not be (as some have thought) the patron of Ezra and Nehemiah. As to *Pârsâ*, with the final *a* long, and thought to be the name of the city, see an inscription by Xerxes at Persepolis, in Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 329. In the Kissian transcript the word has the local sign before it, a fact which Mr Norris thinks conclusive against the supposition that the word means the country of which Persepolis was the capital, called by the Greeks Persis, and still Fars. See Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. pp. 155, 156. The continued worship of the goddess Anaitis at Ekbatana appears from (the Parthian Halting Places of) Isidore of Kharax sect. 6. The deities who still in his days shared with her συμβωμοι θεοὶ the temple of Anaitis at Zela in Pontus, are said by Strabo, (xi. 8 § 4 comp. xii. 3 § 37, and xv. 3 § 15) to have been Omanes and Anadatus. He calls them Persian; but Omanes was Kissian, and Anadatus Chaldæan; for he is the Ἀννήδωτος of Berosus, the same as (or the like of) Oannes [*query* Noah] the half-fish half-man who was the first instructor of mankind. See Georgius Syncellus, Dindorf's ed. pp. 51, 69, 71. Anaitis was a goddess of unchastity; see Strabo's account of her Armenian worshippers, xi. 14 § 16, where, for Anaitis the MSS have Tanais. She seems to be the Babylonian Aphrodité of Herod. i. 199. She seems also to be the Uranian Aphrodité whom Herodotus mis-names *Mithré*, and whose worship he tells us the Persians had borrowed from the Arabians and Assyrians. Herod. i. 131.

the capital of Syria, at least at the time of Alexander's conquest, we have further reason for believing.[l] Now, Josephus's authority confirms us in thus identifying the Syrian Agbatana with the Syrian capital, for he actually places the scene of the death of Cambyses at Damascus.[m]

[l] Strabo, xvi. 2 § 20, describes Damascus (after the Roman conquest which succeeded the Macedonian) as a considerable city: and in the Persian times about the most distinguished in those parts. Ptolemais, then called Aké (as now by the Arabs *Akka* and by the Europeans *Acre*) the Persians used for their naval station towards Egypt, ὁρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον; Ibid. § 25 also § 27. In thus speaking of Aké, Strabo, or his authority, seems to have had in view the long space of Egyptian independence, B. C. 404–350, between the death of Okhus Darius and the tenth year of Okhus Artaxerxes. After the victory of the Macedonian in Cilicia, which Arrian places in the archonship of Nicocrates at Athens, in the month Mæmaktêriôn, along with Darius's mother, wife (who was his sister also) infant son, and two daughters, not many other wives of Persian ἀμοτιμοι were taken: for in general (Arrian tells us) the Persians had sent their wives to Damascus; and thither Darius himself had sent the greater part of his treasure and baggage. All this store of riches at Damascus, was captured shortly afterwards by Parmenion who was despatched for the purpose: Arrian, Anab. ii. 11 §§ 9, 10. Darius had sent it in the charge of Kôphên son of Artabazus; Parmenion made prize of it at some distance from the city (as it was being carried off); and then was ordered to take it back and keep it under guard for its new master at Damascus. That, before entering Cilicia, Darius had despatched all his baggage to Damascus, is also noticed by Diodorus, xvii. 32 § 3.

[m] Josephus, Antiq. xi. 2 § 2. There are two forms in Hebrew of the name of the city which the natives call Damask and we after the old Latins Damascus. One is *Dammeseq;* as in Gen. xv. 2 and elsewhere: the other though it occurs in a late book seems to be the older form. It is *Darmâseq* (in 2 Chron. xxiv. 23, xxviii. 5) or *Darmeseq* (in 2 Chron. xxviii. 23). May not this be equivalent to Gate of Meseq, that is, Dwelling of Meseq? But who is Meseq? And what means Ben-Meseq, the description of Abraham's Eliezer of Damascus in Gen. xv. 2? It seems to be translated in the English Vulgate "the steward of my house," but we have for it, in the Septuagint, ὁ υἱὸς Μασὲκ τῆς οἰκογένους μου, "the son of Masek my home-born woman (servant);" where the words explaining Masek seem to be a gloss of the translator's. Josephus tells us, that, in his time, the name of Abraham was still famous in the Damascene country; and that a village was shewn, called Ἀβράμου

CHAPTER IV.

I.

It has been shewn in the preceding chapters, that the king whom we seek in secular history was one of the line of Perso-Median kings, but not Cyrus nor yet Cambyses son of Cyrus. Was he, then, the pretended Smerdis or Bardiya, that is, Gaumâta as the Behistun inscription has taught us to call the Magian impostor? Certainly, he was not. We have already observed, that, if to the reign

οἴκησις, *(query* Beth-Abram). Nicolaus the Damascene, as cited by Josephus, said:—

Ἀβρώμης ἐβασίλευσε Δαμασκοῦ, ἔπηλυς σὺν στρατῷ ἀφιγμένος ἐκ τῆς γῆς, τῆς ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαίων λεγομένης. Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον, ἐξαναστὰς καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, σὺν τῷ στρατεύρῳ λαῷ, εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Χαναναίαν λεγομένην, νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν, μετῴκησε· Antiq. i. 8 § 2. May not Meseq or Maseq be the same as Mesek or Mask? We have a Meshek son of Japhet, Gen. x. 3, and 1 Chron. i. 5. He seems to be the father of the Μόσχοι of Greek writers, and his descendants seem to be spoken of in Ezek. xxvii. 13, xxxii. 26, xxxviii. 2, 13; xxxix. 1; and in the Assyrian inscriptions in conjunction with Tubal and Ararat. We have another Meshek, so called in 1 Chron. i. 17, but called Mash *(query* Mashk) in Gen. x. 23, the last mentioned of the four sons of Aram son of Shem third son of Noah. In all the passages cited for the two Mesheks from Genesis and 2 Chronicles, the Septuagint has uniformly Μοσὸχ. The Meshek of Psalm cxx. 5, being coupled with Kedar (son of Ishmael according to Gen. xxv. 13) should be the Meshek son of Aram and, if either of the two, the Meshek after whom the city *Dar-Meseq* or *Dar-Masq* was named. Josephus seems not to have read Meshek or Μοσὸχ in Gen. x. 23. For he says that Μησῆς fourth son of Aram was father of the Μησαναῖοι the people (of the country) in his time called (after its capital) Σπασίνου Χάραξ. As to the settlement of Damascus, having premised that Aram (of Gen. x. 23) was the father

of Cambyses we add that of the pretended younger son of Cyrus, (the pretended Tanaoxares or Tanaoxarkes, as Xenophon and Ktesias would lead us to say) the two reigns together do not reach that number, the twelfth year of his reign, when the Ahasuerus of the book Esther put Haman to death. On the authority (as it would seem) of Egyptian records, Herodotus makes the Magian to reign during the seven months that would have completed the eighth calendar year of the reign of Cambyses; and then to lose both crown and life in the month following, which would have been the first month of the ninth year

of the Aramæans whom the Greeks call Syrians, Josephus adds, that of his four sons Οὖσος (Uz the first mentioned in Gen. x. 23) was the builder, planter or founder (κτίζει) of Trakhonîtis and Damascus; Ant. i. 6 § 4. Of his Μησαναῖοι we have traces in the river called Mogæus by Marcian of Heraclæa but *Moscœus* by Ptolemy and *Meseus* by Ammianus Marcellinus, between the mouth of which and the most easterly mouth of the Tigris stood the new-named if not new-built *Spasini Kharax*. Another plainer trace is Μαισινίτης, or Μεσανίτης, κόλπος an inlet on the coast of the Persian gulf to the west of the Tigris. The name of the city we call Damascus, is written *Damashki* (according to Mr H. Fox Talbot) in an inscription of the Assyrian king who has been supposed to be the Pul of Scripture: and it is described as the royal city of Mariah (*i. e.* says H. F. Talbot, *the supreme lord)* king of the land Tusu or Tûsh. See Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. pp. 182, 183. This land of Tusu or Tûsh, says H. F. Talbot, is frequently named on the Obelisk. In the sketch of the Obelisk king's annals published in 1850 in the Journal R. A. S. vol. xii. (where see especially p. 434. note,) Sir H. C. Rawlinson read the word Atesh; identifying it with a name so read in Egyptian records, and appropriating it in particular to the city Hems or Emessa, seated on the Orontes, the supposed city of the Zemarites of Gen. x. 18, but which S. Jerome calls Edessa in his commentary on the passage. According to Josephus, a new population was substituted for the former at Damascus in B. C. 740 when "Theglaphalassares king of the Assyrians, having stormed the city and slain its king Arasên (Rezin), transported the inhabitants as a colony to the Upper Media, and removing people of the Assyrian nations, settled them at Damascus." Antiq. ix. 12 § 3. The place whither the Damascenes were transplanted is called *Kir* in Amos i. 5, and 2 Kings xvi. 9. Perhaps Josephus's authority here for Upper Media, and also afterwards, as to the place of the death of Cambyses, was Nicolaus of Damascus whom he quotes by name as to the Benhadad dynasty, and as to Abraham's sojourn at Damascus.

of Cambyses, but which the historian appears to reckon for the first month of the first of Darius's thirty-six regnal years.[a]

II.

From that abstract of the "Persica" of Ktesias which Photius has left us, we learn, that Ktesias, too, assigned to the reign of the Magian the space of seven months. Now, this nearly concurrent testimony has the more weight because, as it is usual with him on other occasions to produce a story at variance with the one which his predecessor, the historian of Halicarnassus, had told to the Hellenic world, so here, his account of the Magian differs much from Herodotus's. He calls the usurper Sphendadates, a name which Sir H. C. Rawlinson has explained, by the Zend *spentadâta*, "Given to the Holy One;" and if the critical accuracy and honest purpose of the Cnidian doctor were better approved, we might believe this to have been the real name of Herodotus's second Magian brother, who, by the help of Patizeithes, was able to personate Cyrus's younger son, the fitter for the throne while Cambyses still lived, and the rightful heir of it after Cambyses was dead. For it was certainly not true, that the impostor had the name of the younger son of Cyrus before he assumed his person, although it is true that in this new name and person he claimed the throne of Cambyses. But (as we may infer from Ezra's notice of him) when the imposture was successful, he changed his new name, which the rightful owner had borne being but a private man, for a more kingly one, a name as yet unknown to us (for we read but the relics of the past) yet probably famous in men's memories then, Artaxerxes. And as to Gaumâta, the name given to the Magian

[a] Herod. iii. 68, vii. 4. Ptolemy's Canon confirms Herodotus; giving to Darius's reign the thirty-six years from the 227th to the 262nd of Nabonassar; omitting the Magian's reign; and apparently apportioning his eight months as Herodotus did; for it assigns to Cambyses the eight years from the 219th to the 226th of Nabonassar.

impostor in the Behistun inscription, it is possible that Herodotus's informants were right, if (as we suspect) they took it to describe an office in the royal dwellings of Cambyses, which, if not he to whom they assigned it, yet one of the two Magian brothers had enjoyed. For *Gomashtah*, in modern Persian, is equivalent to the Greek terms μελιδωνὸς and ἐπίτροπος by which Herodotus describes the office of Patizeithes the Magian.[a]

Considering, then, the unwonted accuracy of Ktesias in respect of the length of the reign of the counterfeit younger son of Cyrus, we are inclined to pay attention to that writer's whole account. Of the Magian he relates, not, as Herodotus does, that Cyrus formerly had punished him for some offence by cropping off his ears, but that he had been flogged for a fault by the younger son of Cyrus, who (according to his father's dying will) had become lord of the Baktrians, Khorasmians, Parthians, and Carmanians, paying no tribute, but (as the story leads us to suppose) owing homage and military service to his brother the king. Eager for revenge, the Magian went to Cambyses and accused Tanaoxarkes, or rather (as Ktesias may perhaps have really written, like Xenophon) Tanaoxares, of plotting against him. To prove it, he affirmed that if Tanaoxares were sent for, he would not come. Cambyses then signified to his brother to come; and his brother delayed, on account of some business which required his stay. The Magian became bolder in his charges; but Amytis, the mother of both brothers, bade Cambyses pay no heed to him; while Cambyses, pretending not to do so, believed him entirely. After having received a third message from the king his brother, at last Tanaoxares arrived. Then, Cambyses, though he saluted him as usual, began contriving how to put him to death without the knowledge of the Queen-mother. The deed is done: for the Magian, who shared the king's counsels, and who happened to be

[a] Thompson's Oordoo Dictionary referred to by a friend (A. K. Forbes Esq.) supplied the author with this information as to a term which he had frequently heard applied in India; *Goomashtah*, part. pass. "Commissioned:" subst. masc. "An agent," "a factor."

very like Tanaoxares, advises that Cambyses should publicly order him to be beheaded for having spoken against the king's brother; but that the person secretly put to death should be Tanaoxares. Accordingly, Tanaoxares drinks off some "bull's blood" and is killed; the Magian is dressed up in his apparel and passes for Tanaoxares. For a long while the matter remains unknown to all except the king's great officers, Artasyras the Hyrkanian and the eunuchs Bagapates and Izabates; to whom alone the king had ventured to confide it. Labyzus, too, the first of the eunuchs belonging to Tanaoxares, had been summoned, with his fellows, by Cambyses; who shewed them the Magian seated in the guise of the king's brother, and commanded them to hold this man to be Tanaoxares. Whereupon Labyzus was astonished and said, "Who else should we take him for!" so complete was the resemblance. The Magian, therefore, is sent away to the Baktrian capital, where he did every thing as Tanaoxares. However, after the lapse of five years Amytis learns the farce that has been acted, through Tibetheus, a eunuch to whom the Magian happened to have given a beating; she asks the king for the Magian; Cambyses refuses to surrender him; she lays a curse upon her son,[b] drinks poison and dies—after the manner of a Charun in modern

[b] The curse was unconditional, because Cambyses had refused (or was perhaps unable) to surrender to her his accomplice. Of conditional curses we have many instances. Both Cambyses and his agent Prexaspes, when ready to die, are represented by Herodotus as bequeathing a curse to their hearers that should disregard their bidding, and not recover the kingdom from the Magi. Otherwise, Cambyses wished them many blessings. See Herod. iii. 65, 75. So Cyrus, according to Ktesias, being mortally wounded, having joined the right hands of his sons, stepsons, and the Sakan king Amorges, prayed good things for them so long as they should abide well-wishers one to the other: and laid a curse on such as should first lift their hands to wrong the others. See Photius's abstract § 8. So Darius Hystaspes' son by his Behistun inscription, settles his curse upon the kings that should come into possession of that monument, also upon any that should thereafter see it and read it, if they should deal with the same against his intent. See Beh. Insc. Col. 4, paras. 11 and 17. The same usage had prevailed among the Assyrians and Babylonians. See the blessing and the curse with which an inscription of the first known Tiglath-Pilezer concludes,

Guzerat. Cambyses offers a sacrifice, and when the victims are slaughtered, no blood flows. He is dismayed and desponding. Rokhshana also (who according to Herodotus was his sister, the daughter of his mother as well as of his father, and whom he had perhaps been encouraged by Egyptian practice to marry, the royal judges alleging no prohibition in the laws of the Persians and Medes,) she bears him a headless child and he grows more desponding.[c] The Magi tell him, too, what these prodigies signify—that he will leave none to succeed him in his dominion. His mother's ghost, too, stands over him in the night, and threatens him for the stain of his brother's blood, and he becomes more desponding still. He reaches Babylon, and there, as by way of amusement he was grating a bit of wood with the point of his dagger, or shaving it with a knife, (whittling, as Anglo-Americans call this familiar mode of employing their hands while they talk or calculate) he strikes his thigh upon the muscle.[d] On the eleventh following day he died.

in the Journal of the R. A. S. vol. xviii. pp. 216, 218. Sennacherib's inscription on the Taylor cylinder ends with a blessing and a curse; a blessing on the future king who should repair his palace, read and, after a sacrifice, replace the written tablets of his name; and a curse upon the destroyer of his tablets and his name. See Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. p. 170. The same king's inscription on the Bellino cylinder ends with a similarly conditioned blessing, but adds no curse. See Journal R. A. S. vol. xviii. p. 82. The very curious Michaux inscription found in the ruins of a palace on the banks of the Tigris, one day's journey below Baghdad, and relating to the gift of a half-square piece of ground on the west bank of the Tigris by a man to his granddaughter, fills the last three of its four columns with curses intended for its preservation. Ibid. pp. 56–60. Mountstuart Elphinstone tells us that ancient Hindû inscriptions, recording grants of land free of service, often contain imprecations on any of the descendants of the granter who shall resume his gift. *Hist. of India, &c.* p. 77.

[c] According to Herodotus, the mother (whose name he does not record) miscarried through ill-usage of her husband's: see Herod. iii. 32.

[d] The words of Photius's abstract are :—

ξέων ξυλάριον μαχαίρᾳ διατριβῆς χάριν, παίει τὸν μηρὸν εἰς τὸν μῦν.

of which the accompanying Latin, in the edition published by Didot, is this, "(quum) ibi parvum lignum cultro poliens tempus ut falleret femoris musculum percussisset."

Before Cambyses died, Artasyras the Hyrcanian and the eunuch Bagapates had formed the project to make the Magian, king; and king he became after Cambyses was dead. The other chief eunuch, who was privy to the death of the younger brother of Cambyses so long personated by the Magian, namely Izabates, the treachery of whose cousin Kombapheus a eunuch of the king of Egypt had helped the conquest of that country, received the corpse of Cambyses and conducted it to Pasargadâ. After the Magian had become king in the character of the younger son of Cyrus, Izabates arrived from Persis.[e] He told the army all, exposed the Magian, and fled to the temple; but he was taken thence and had his head cut off. Then seven notables of the Persians agreed together against the Magian. Their names according to Ktesias (who is here proved by the testimony of the Behistun inscription to be far less accurate than Herodotus) were Onophas, Idernes, Norondabates, Mardonius, Barisses, Ataphernes, and Darius son of Hystaspes. After these had pledged themselves to one another, Artasyras is gained, and then the eunuch Bagapates also, who had all the palace keys. By means of the latter they entered the royal abode, where they found the Magian in bed with a Babylonian concubine. He jumped up and finding no weapon, for all had been secretly conveyed away by Bagapates, he broke a golden or gilded chair, seized a leg, and fought with that, till he was pierced to death by the weapons of the seven. He died after a reign of seven months.

This duration of his reign is the particular which we offered to justify unusual attention to this narrative of

[e] Observe ἐκ Περσίδος "from Persis" is pretty evidently distinguished from εἰς Πέρσας which we have translated (supposing both expressions to be Ktesias's own) "to Pasargadâ." What we have translated "in the character," if literally translated would be "On the name:" but the subject of the potency of names we commend to theologians in discussing the formula used by Divine command in the Christian sacrament of Baptism; or in Christening, as the rite is familiarly but expressively termed.

Ktesias's. But there is another particular, which the Behistun inscription confirms and which still more demands our attention. We have seen, that it was five years after the death of the younger son when the truth was conveyed to his mother Amytis. According to the Behistun inscription (which here contradicts Herodotus) Cambyses slew his brother, son of the same father and the same mother with himself, before he went to Egypt. Now, if the conquest of Egypt was in B. C. 525, as we learn from Diodorus and Manetho, and the last year of Cambyses was, according to the Canon, the year of Nabonassar 226, that is B. C. 522, we may place the death of the brother of Cambyses in B. C. 523. But if so, it happened in the fifth year before the death of Cambyses, which seems fairly equivalent to the statement of Ktesias.

The remarkable accuracy of Ktesias's account in this important particular, is not affected either by the number of years which (according to Photius's abstract, as we possess it) Ktesias assigned to the reign of Cambyses, or by the fact that (according to the order of the narrative in Photius's abstract) we must suppose that (like Herodotus) Ktesias placed the death of the brother of Cambyses after the king's conquest of Egypt. Neither lastly, is it affected by Ktesias's misnomers, whether in the case of Darius's comrades at the Magian's death or in the case of the king who ruled in Egypt at the time of the Persian invasion and who is miscalled Amyrtæus—a name which really belonged to that Egyptian leader who, along with Inaros the Lybian, revolted from Artaxerxes the first. It was also the name of a contemporary of Ktesias's, the first of that series of native rulers under whom Egypt was independent of Persia during the reign of the second Artaxerxes, and till the tenth year of Okhus or Artaxerxes the third.[f]

[f] As to the statement which Photius's abstract ascribes to Ktesias, that Cambyses (who reigned in reality eight years) reigned eighteen years, it may be a mere mistake of the numeral, as easy in the Greek as in English. A transcriber of Ktesias's work or of Photius's abstract might readily mis-read and miscopy IH instead of H. The misnomers of

Having thus pointed out some marks of authenticity in Ktesias's story of the Magian, we are emboldened to infer from it, that Kassandané, daughter of Pharnaspes an Akhæmenian, a wife whom Cyrus survived and for whom he is related to have made a great mourning throughout the empire,[h] was not the mother of Cambyses and of him whom Cambyses slew and the Magian personated; but that (as Xenophon no less than Ktesias relates) these sons were borne to Cyrus by his Median wife, whom Ktesias made daughter of Astyages the Mede, but Xenophon, daughter of that son of Astyages under whose reign, and in the command of whose armies, as we have seen, Cyrus's great military successes were achieved. Her name, Amytis, is probably the same with that ascribed to one who appears to have been her grandfather's sister, that Median wife of Nebukhadrezzar, the daughter of Nabopolassar king of Babylon's Median confederate. This daughter of Cyaxares, sister of Astyages, and aunt of Darius the Mede, is said to have been named Amyité.[i]

But let us return to what is more properly our subject.

Ktesias illustrate one another: for example, instead of Otanes he makes Onophas, who was really son of Otanes, the first of Darius's comrades. And so, of the Egyptian king the son of Amasis whose name we may take on the authority of Herodotus to have been Psammenitus,—Ktesias gives him the name of a much later Egyptian antagonist. It is usual to identify Manetho's Amyrtæus the Saite, sole king of the 28th dynasty, with the Amyrtæus of Herodotus, and Thucydides, that father of Pausiris (Herod. iii. 15) who, with Inarôs the Libyan, maintained a struggle for independence with the first Artaxerxes. But see our Appendix, No. 2, *On the position in Persian history of the 28th, 29th, and 30th, Egyptian dynasties.* As to Ktesias, observe, that in his Fall of Nineveh, which he dates much earlier than that we know of from Herodotus, Berosus, and Hebrew Scripture, the names of the chief actors, Arbakes the Mede and Belesys the Babylonian, are to be detected among the king's great men that the doctor must have heard spoken of, when he lived in the service of Artaxerxes Mnemon: for Xenophon gives us, in the Anabasis vii. 8 § 25, among the rulers of the king's country, "*Of Syria and Assyria, Belesys; Of Media, Arbakas.*" For Arbakas, see also Anab. i. 7 § 12; and for Belesys, Anab. i. 4 § 10.

[h] See Herod. ii. 1; iii. 2, 3.

[i] See Syncellus p. 396 of Dindorf's ed. It is a passage about Nabo-

CHAPTER V.

I.

We have now shewn; first, that Esther's Ahasuerus was not a Mede, but one of the kings whose line began to reign at Babylon in the person of Cyrus the Persian, B. C. 536; and (according to Ptolemy's Canon) was dethroned in the person of Darius Codomannus son of Arsames in the year of Nabonassar 417, which year began on the fourteenth of November B. C. 332. We have also shewn, that the king who married Esther cannot be

polassar consisting of two parts. Of these the first (apparently defective) contains the name of Amyité. It is confessedly taken from Alexander Polyistor, but apparently through Eusebius. The second part, containing the name of Sarakus king of Assyria, may be derived from a celebrated fragment of Abydenus; but the Syncellus does not allege the authority of Abydenus. Nor does it quite correspond in expression with the extract from Abydenus ap. Euseb. Chron. i. 5. Polyhistor makes "the satrap of Media" whose daughter Nabopolassar obtained for his son Nebukhadrezzar, to be Astyages. But at the time of the overthrow of Nineveh, according to Herodotus, the king of Media was still Cyaxares father of Astyages, though the latter seems to have commanded the army of the Medes, as the son of Nabopolassar commanded that of the Babylonians. See the end of the book Tobit, where the Assuerus seems to be the same as Daniel's Ahasuerus father of Darius the Mede. Observe that the Babylonian Berosus treats Pharaoh Nekho in his war with Nabopolassar as "satrap of Egypt, Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia and a revolter." What Polyhistor related of Nabopolassar and the Medes may, therefore, have been derived from Berosus.

Cyrus; cannot be Cyrus's son Cambyses, who by Ezra [a] is apparently called Ahasuerus; cannot be the Magian who personated the younger son of Cyrus, and who by Ezra appears to be styled Artakhshashta, in Greek Artaxerxes, a name which he must have assumed when he first seated himself on the throne.[b]

The next to the Magian, of Cyrus's successors is one of famous memory in the Church, through the record which we have received of him in the writings of Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra. The former two call him simply Darius or king Darius: Ezra adds to his name (as to those of Cyrus, of the pretended younger son of Cyrus, and of Darius's grandson Artaxerxes the long-armed) the title king of Persia; thereby distinguishing these kings

[a] Ezra iv. 6. This verse has no counter-part in the Greek compilation entitled the first Esdras. Hence, writers who followed the narrative of that book, have mistaken the Artaxerxes king of the Persians of 1 Esdras ii. 15, who is the Artakhshashta of the original Ezra iv. 7, for the immediate successor of the Cyrus mentioned Ezra iv. 5, and 1 Esdras ii. 1–10; that is to say, for Cambyses. But the next king after Cyrus, and the next but one before Darius, mentioned by Ezra, is the king named Akhshurush, or, in the Greek version called the second Esdras, Ἀσσουηρος, in Ezra or (2 Esdras) iv. 6. It would appear, then, that Cambyses assumed for his name as king of the Medes, the name of the father of Darius the Mede, that is apparently, the name of his mother's grandfather.

[b] The name Artakhshashta is transcribed from Ezra iv. 7, 8, 11, 23; verses of which the first is in Hebrew and the following in the language commonly called Chaldee, but by Ezra apparently Aramæan: see Ezra iv. 7, and compare 2 Kings xviii. 26. In Nehemiah ii. 1 the orthography is Artakhshasta. In the Septuagint Greek version it is transcribed Arthasastha (Ἀρθασασθά.) For the Aryan form Artakhshatra, see an inscription at Persepolis of Okhus Artaxerxes, in the Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 341, 342, and the Aryan counter-part in a bilingual inscription on the pedestal of a column at Susa engraved by Arsakes Artaxerxes, and discovered by W. Kenneth Loftus Esq. R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 159. This is found spelt according to a mispronunciation *Ardakhchashcha* on an Egyptian vase of grey porphyry at Venice; see Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 347. In the Kissian language it was pronounced and written Artaksassa (or Artaksazsa) according to the uniform Kissian practice of expressing the Persian *thr* or *tr* by *ss;* see the translation forming the Kissian part of the above-mentioned bilingual inscription at Susa, in Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. pp. 158, 159, comparing p. 43.

as he also distinguishes them (if he be the author) in the concluding verses of the second Hebrew book of Chronicles, not only from their Chaldæan predecessors at Babylon, who are called especially kings of Babylon, but also probably from the maternal ancestors of Cambyses and of Cyrus, the kings of the Medes. In the case of the first of the line of Persian kings, the same is done by Daniel, who survived to see him on the throne at Babylon. The later hand which has added to the twelfth chapter of the book of Nehemiah some subsequent genealogical particulars, in giving the same addition to the last of the line, distinguishes him rather from Alexander the Macedonian his conqueror and from the successors of the conqueror. Nehemiah himself had called Artaxerxes the long-armed, king of Babylon.[c]

The king by whom the Magian was succeeded, Darius, famous as we have said in Israel, was also celebrated among the Greeks, and is so still among the students of Hellenic literature, as Darius son of Hystaspes. The recent decipherment and translation of monumental records caused to be engraved by himself and by successors of his, gives us the name in its Persian form; which (as we have already observed) is *Dâryavush* son of *Vishtâspa*.

This, then, is the third of the line of kings, the successors of the great Cyrus. The fourth king is *Khshayârshâ*, that is, (as his name is corrupted in the Greek writings which have made him so familiarly known) Xerxes, as if from *Khsherkhshâ*. Between this, and the genuine Aryan form, stands the hieroglyphic form on the Caylus vase, *Khshharsha*.[d] He is now presented to us by his own

[c] Nehem. xiii. 6.

[d] This form is cited by Sir H. C. Rawlinson who refers to Heeren's Researches vol. ii. p. 340. Sir H. C. Rawlinson derives the name from the Sanscrit root *khshi* "to rule with power unlimited," whence he thinks *khshaya* might signify "a king," no less than the *khshâyathiya* of the inscriptions; the latter element *arsha* (found in the proper names Arses, Arsames, Arsakes) he interprets, from the Sanscrit "venerable." Journal R. A. S. vol. xi. p. 120. Dino (cited by Plutarch) by Ὄαξος appears to intend Arses. With Khshayârshâ Gesenius appears to have compared the modern Persian *Shêr-shah* "Lion-king."

deciphered and translated inscriptions, which, however, contribute scarcely anything to history. He is also mentioned, but not by name, in a last revelation to the prophet Daniel, which was made in the third year of the reign of Cyrus; that is, according to Ptolemy's Canon (checked by our acquaintance with the Mede whose reign preceded that of Cyrus at Babylon) in the year of Nabonassar 214, or B. C. 534. The revelation of which we speak was made by One Who described Himself as opposed[e] by all those angelic Powers to whose guardianship or satrapy the nations of men were confided, with the exception of Michael the angel-prince of Israel, that is, of the stock into which we are grafted who, of whatever nation, believe in Jesus of Nazareth as the Son and the Messiah, or Christ, of God. The Person appeared to Daniel beside the river Hiddekel or Tigris, as He seems to have appeared before to Ezekiel by the river Khebar in the land of the Chaldæans; and as He seems to have appeared (B. C. 534 + A. D. 29=) 563 years afterwards to Saul the persecutor of the New Israel; also again, some sixty-five years later, to a man not less greatly beloved than Daniel, the beloved disciple John, in the isle to which (in the reign and perhaps by the immediate order of the Roman emperor Domitian) he had been banished, because of the tale which he told of God, and because of the testimony which he testified of Jesus Christ. In what the Lord is recorded to have said to Daniel, we find, following an intimation of future warfare against the

[e] Dan. x. 5, 13, 20, 21; xi. 1, 2. So of ourselves His people we learn from His Apostle Paul that we have to fight not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the rulers of the darkness of the present period, or period of the present state of the world, against the spirits of the wickedness in the heavens, against the ambuscades of the Accuser and the Enemy; Ephes. vi. 11, 12. Of principalities and powers in the heavens he speaks also, Ephes. iii. 10; i. 21; Coloss. ii. 15. Christ is over all, Ephes. i. 21; but there are good, namely Michael and his angels, as well as the Enemy or Satan (who is the Accuser or Devil) and his angels; see the Revelations to S. John xii. 7-11. The angels of the nations war with one another, as the angel ruler of Yavan against him of Persia, Dan. x. 13, 14, 20, 21.

angel-prince of Persia, these words; "Also I, in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him." Hence it appears that the commonly ignored Darius the Mede had had a mightier helper than Cyrus who now reigned in his stead. But He Who spake to Daniel proceeded, "And now will I shew thee the truth: Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than all, and, with the strength that he shall have through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of *Yavan*." So, after their ancestor, the people who in the days of Xerxes had long preferred to call themselves Hellenes, and whom we, after the old Latin masters of the West, have learnt to call Greeks, were unchangingly designated by the Hebrews, the Assyrians, the Persians, and all Asiatic nations; while of themselves a fraction only retained and still prided themselves in the name of *Iaones*, *Iones*, or, as we say, Ionians.[f] The invasion of the domain of the angel of Yavan by the fourth of the successors of Cyrus, Xerxes, that attempt which afterwards, at the time appointed, Alexander the Macedonian avenged, has ever since been celebrated in secular history; but the exclamation made, it is said, by one who witnessed the passage of the host of Xerxes across the Hellespont, may be singled out, as a striking testimony to the fulfil-

[f] The word *Yavan* of the original text (which here, in Dan. xi. 2, is not Chaldee or rather Aramæan, but Hebrew) is rendered Ἑλλήνων as it is in Dan. x. 20. For the patriarch Yavan son of Japhet, see Genes. x. 21. The river *Hiddekel* of Dan. x. 4 written by the Hellenist translator Theodotion Ἐδδεκέλ, or, according to the Alex. MS. (as is very observable) Ἐυδεκέλ is translated as in Genes. ii. 14. Τίγρις. The name which we find in Darius's trilingual or parallel Aryan, Kissian, and Assyrian inscriptions (Yunâ, Yauna and Yavanu) the Persians applied not only generally to all the Greeks of Asia, Dorians and Æolians no less than Ionians, but also to the Greeks elsewhere, to some even whose Hellenic character was disputed. See Darius's tomb inscription, Journal R. A. S. vol. x. 294; xv. 150; xix. 267. Thus, Herodotus makes Mardonius in Xerxes' council of war call those whom the expedition threatened Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους; Herod. vii. 9. The "Ionians of Libya" had already submitted in the reign of Cambyses and were annexed to Egypt. Cyprus is called Ionia in the annals of Sargon.

ment of the prophecy which Daniel's vision conveyed.[g] It will be cited below, when we return to the reign of Xerxes.

The fifth of the successors of Cyrus is the earliest Aryan monarch called in secular Greek writings by the name Artaxerxes, as if from *Artakhsherkhshâ*, an incorrect expression of the Perso-Aryan *Artakhshatrâ*. This name (as we have seen) there is reason to believe had been assumed when he became king, by the second of the successors of Cyrus, the pretended younger son of Cyrus. Of the personage who now bore the name, Josephus's description, "Cyrus son of Xerxes whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes," has already been cited. The Greeks also distinguished him by the epithet *Makrokheir*, the Long-handed or rather, as we take it, the Long-armed.[h]

II.

Of the three Persian monarchs just enumerated—the third, the fourth, and the fifth of the successors of the great Cyrus, each (as we intimated at the beginning of this volume) has been by different authors identified with the Ahasuerus, or Akhshurush, of the Hebrew book Esther. Leaving Darius son of Hystaspes and Xerxes son of Darius for subsequent consideration, we will here first dispose of the case of the son of Xerxes. By the Hebrew writers Ezra and Nehemiah (as whose benefactor, he will be for ever remembered in the modern Israel no less than he was in the ancient Church) his name is expressed Artakhshasta.[a] The already-mentioned Perso-

[g] See Herod. vii. 56.

[h] Plutarch in the life of his grandson cap. i. ascribes the name to his having the right hand (χεῖρα) bigger (μειζονα) than the other.

[a] They write the name with a *samech* ס, instead of the *shin* ש employed in the regal name of the pretended younger son of Cyrus. In Kissian, the Perso-Aryan form *Artakhshatrâ* (as we remarked in a former note) became *Artaksassa*. The Hebrew form, which seems to be intermediate in its pronunciation between the Perso-Aryan and the Kissian, is transcribed by the Greek translator of Ezra ἀρθασασθά. One is led to suspect a more ancient form, perhaps Medo-Aryan, *Artakhshasthra*.

Aryan form appears in the inscriptions of a second and third of the name among his descendants and successors.

We will now shew, that he cannot be the Ahasuerus of Esther, as Josephus and many following Josephus have supposed; and the argument will grow stronger and stronger as it is applied in turn to every one of the kings who followed him. After this, to find the Ahasuerus of the book Esther, will be to solve the simple question, Was he Xerxes son of Darius, or was he Darius the father of Xerxes?

To no one of the three, neither to Darius, to Xerxes, or to Artaxerxes, can it be objected, as it was to each of the three who preceded Darius, that his reign is not long enough to be that of Esther's Ahasuerus. Each of them has a twelfth year of his reign. But in order to shew that the last of the three, Artaxerxes, cannot be Esther's Ahasuerus, we will observe first, that this Persian king cannot justly be distinguished from his predecessors (of whom one at least, the conqueror of Egypt and its dependencies, Cambyses, was called Ahasuerus [b]) as the Ahasuerus who reigned from Hindu to Kush, or from the people of the Upper Indus to the people of the Upper Nile.[c] Yet this is that which is made to distinguish the Ahasuerus of the book Esther.

[b] Ezra iv. 6. This verse, as we have said before, is omitted in a Greek book called the first Esdras in the Septuagint. To this book seems due what Josephus has related on the authority of Ezra.

[c] The Hebrew is rendered ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς (the third hand in Tischendorf's Frid. Aug. MS adds ἕως Αἰθιοπίας) ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ χωρῶν, Septuagint Esther i. 1. κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ταῖς ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ χώραις, Esth. iii. 12, and in the interpolated king's letter dictated by Haman which follows in that chapter; also in Esth. viii. 9, and in the king's letter dictated by Mordecai which is interpolated in that chapter. So too we have ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μέχρις Αἰθιοπίας ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ σατραπείαις in the first Esdras iii. 2; and thence in Josephus Antiq. xi. 3. § 2, and xi. 6. § 1. The omission of the letter *n* in the Hebrew Hôddû *(query Hiddû)*, or the change of it into a letter identical with its succeeding letter, was probably a representation of the Perso-Aryan pronunciation; for Darius Hystaspes' son's inscriptions give us *Hidush* in Aryan for the Kissian *Sintus;* Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 280 and 294, and vol. xv. p. 150, where the Ἰνδοί of Herodotus iii. 94, 98–106

The Ethiopians above Egypt (as the Greeks called the Kush of the Hebrew books and of the Egyptian monuments) a people descended from Kush son of Kham or Ham, were subdued by Cambyses son of Cyrus after his conquest of Egypt.[d] As to the Hindus or Indians, Hero-

are meant. So they give us *Gadâra* and *Zaraka* for the Kissian *Kantara* and *Sarranka*, the Gandarians and Sarangians of Herodotus. For this, besides the places already referred to, see Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 197, and vol. xv. p. 97. The Assyrians pronounced the *n*. Thus Mr H. Fox Talbot, in his copy and translation of the Assyrian version of the list of provinces on the tomb of Darius, gives us *Kandari Zaranga* and *Indu*, see Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. p. 266. So we find the name of the town in Media where Darius defeated Frawartish, called in Aryan *Gudrush;* Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 222, but in Kissian *Kuntarrus;* Ibid. vol. xv. p. 113, and in Assyrian *Kunduru*. See the fifty-seventh line of the Assyrian version of the Behistun inscription, as given by Rawlinson in the sheets prefixed to his unfinished Memoir in Journal R. A. S. vol. xiv. So again in the case of the royal name written by the Greeks Καμβυσης and by the Egyptians *Kambath*, we have likewise the Kissian *Kampuchiya* and the Assyrian *Kambuziya* for the Aryan, or rather perhaps the Perso-Aryan *Kabujiya*, see the Behistun inscription, Col. i. paras. 10, 11, and 12, in the three versions, Journal R. A. S. vols. x. xiv. and xv. For the Egyptian name of Cambyses, see Sir J. Gardiner Wilkinson in George Rawlinson's Herodotus vol. ii. p. 408 note.

[d] Herod. iii. 97. The disasters of Cambyses' expedition into Ethiopia (like those of Darius Hystaspes' son's expedition into European Scythia) were perhaps exaggerated in the accounts gathered by the Greeks; as, undoubtedly, they were undervalued by the monarchs who incurred them, since the cost was chiefly in the cheap life of their subjects. Herodotus admits that Cambyses could boast of some result; and perhaps ampler results of the Scythian expedition appear in the list of subject nations on the tomb of Darius, where Mr Fox Talbot's highly prized copy and translation of the Assyrian version does not persuade one to believe, that either the word following the former Yavanu, or the word which precedes the latter Yavanu is not a name of a nation. The word which precedes the second Yavanu would not be *iskuduru* in Assyrian, *Skudra* in Aryan and *Skutra* in Kissian, if it were not a proper name: and the word *gimirri*, which in the Assyrian follows the the first Yavanu, (as it answers to the undoubted ethnic appellation *Sakâ* in the Aryan and *Sakka* in the Kissian) must either be a mistake for *Namirri* the Assyrian appellation of the Sakâ (which has occurred twice already in this same inscription) or it denotes the *Kimmerians*, who (as we learn from Herodotus) had of old made way

dotus's statement is confirmed by the fact, that, while the name is not included in the list at Behistun of the provinces of the empire to which Darius son of Hystaspes succeeded, they are enumerated in the list given by Darius on the slab in the south wall of the great platform at Persepolis, as well as at a later epoch on his tomb at Nakhsh-i-Rustam.[e] Herodotus places them the twentieth and last of the tributary satrapies ; he relates that they paid a larger tribute than any, amounting to 360 talents of gold dust annually, and he says that they were subdued by Darius after an exploring expedition, in its aim like that western expedition, in which Demokêdês had a political commission, on the coasts of the European Greeks. In the eastern expedition, Scylax the Karyandian was employed as a seaman. It started by boat from the evidently Aryan town of Kaspapura, or Kashtapura, which belonged to the Gandâra. Thence and from the border of the Paktyian country, it proceeded to the mouth of the Indus, the river of India, whence it returned, but not merely along the coast westward and by the Persian gulf, as did

for the Scythians north of the Euxine sea, but of whom nevertheless there may have been still a remnant in the Crimea. We, therefore, follow Rawlinson's Aryan and Norris's Kissian version; and we incline to believe the "*Sakâ* on the . . . . . shore of the sea," or, "beyond the sea," to be the Thracians, some of whom Darius himself subdued between the Bosphorus and the mouth of the Danube (Herod. iv. 93) and others were subdued afterwards by Megabazus and Mardonius. In the *Skutra* we are disposed to recognize the Σκυθαι or Scythians north of the Danube. The *Yunâ takabarâ* which the Kissian transcribes without translation, but which (according to Mr H. Fox Talbot) the Assyrian explains, "Yavanu (Ionians) who wear helmets on their heads," we take for the Greek colonists on the north coast of the Ægean and Propontis, including the Macedonians. Herod. iv. 143, v. 14, 17, 21 ; vi. 44, 45 ; vii. 185.) also, possibly, on the west if not on the north coast of the Euxine. Of the four nations which complete the tomb-list, the third (called *Machiyâ* in the Aryan and Kissian, and from the Aryan interpreted "Fish-eaters") in the Assyrian, according to Mr Talbot, is *Issidu ;* recalling the Ισσηδονες of Herodotus i. 201, iv. 24–27. The first two, *Putiyâ* and *Kushiyâ*, may be a Phut and Kush in the north ; the fourth and last, *Karkâ* (in the Assyrian Karsa) recalls the *Karkhar* of the annals of the old Assyrian kings, and may be perhaps the Kolkhians.

[e] See Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 280, 294.

the fleet of Nearchus afterwards in the service of Alexander the Macedonian. It crossed the Indian ocean by the shores of Arabia, and entering the Arabian gulf, now called the Red sea,[f] finished its sea-voyage at the entrance of the canal from the Nile, near the place now called Suez.

From these facts it appears, that both Darius son of Hystaspes and Xerxes son of Darius had ruled from India to Ethiopia, before Artaxerxes son of Xerxes; and consequently, that contemporary or subsequent writers could not properly distinguish Artaxerxes from his predecessors as the king who ruled from India to Ethiopia. We have said that Cambyses conquered Egypt and Ethiopia, and that Darius conquered the Hindus beyond the Gandâra. We may add, that both Hindus and Ethiopians served in the great army with which Xerxes

[f] See Herod. iv. 44 comparing chap. 42 and iii. 94, 98–105 especially 102. The gold-dust ψηγμα was obtained by the Hindus who bordered on the Paktyian country and the town called Kaspapura or Kashtapura. They were more warlike than the other Hindus; their country was to the north of the others, of whom Herodotus had heard; and in their manner of life they resembled the Buktrians, an Aryan race. The name of the town on the Indus, or some affluent of that river, from which Scylax started, is in Gaisford's Sancroft MS Herod. iv. 44. written Κασπαπυρος, which (for its true Hindu termination) seems certainly preferable to the common reading Κασπατυρος. Kashtapura in Sanscrit, Hindi and Mahratta, means "Timber town." Arrian (Exp. Alex. vi. 24) calls the Gedrosian capital Πουρα. But, according to the extant citation from Hecatæus by Stephen of Byzantium, that traveller of Miletus, in his Tour of Asia, had named the place Κασπαπυρος, *Kaspapura*, or *Kashpapura:* and had described it as in the country of the Indian nation called *Gandarœ*. If Darius's exploring expedition, which started from Kaspapura or Kashtapura, was preparatory to conquest in the east, the point of departure must have been within his actual frontier. Now the Gadâra are included in his list of the provinces which he inherited. See Sir H. C. Rawlinson on Beh. Ins. Col. i. line 16 in notes appended to Journal R. A. S. vol. xii. In the Kissian version by the help of the Assyrian correspondent *Barrupamisana*, Mr Norris has restored it *(Barrupami)thana.* This is the Paropamisus of Alexander's historians. The Aryan Gadâra of the tomb inscription, is Kantara in the Kissian, and Kandari in the Assyrian. Strabo (xv. 1. § 26) has a Gandaritis traversed by a tributary of the river *Kôphên*, perhaps *Koh-phén*, which in Persian signifies "Mountain foam:" *Phèn*

invaded Greece;[g] and from the inscription on Darius's tomb we might otherwise have concluded that these nations (certainly the Hindus) formed part of the inheritance which Darius bequeathed to Xerxes.

is also found in Sanscrit, Hindi, and Marattha. This tributary of the Kôphên, now the river of Câbul, (itself a tributary of the Indus) Strabo calls *Khoaspes*. It is mentioned by Curtius viii. 33. Another district, also called Gandaris, Strabo places in the Panjâb, between the rivers Hyarôtis and Hypanis, xv. 1. § 30. The *Gandarœ* of Hecatæus (whose town Kaspapura or Kashtapura might have been with probability placed at a point high up the Cabul river, if that river could be described as navigable, but must now rather be placed either on the Indus itself or on the Câbul river near its junction with the Indus, somewhere about Peshawar) may have occupied the whole valley of the Kôphên and the valleys of the tributary streams, including the above mentioned Khoaspa. Certainly, they seem to have occupied quite a different country from that of the Gandaridæ of Diodorus ii. 37 § 3, xvii. 93 § 2, xviii. 6 § 1. who from their name may be supposed to have been considered a colony from the proper Gandaræ. The Gandarii of Herodotus apparelled like Baktrian warriors (Herod. vii. 66) and joined in the same satrapy with the Sattagydians (Herod. iii. 91) may seem by that juxtaposition to be the Gandaræ of Hecatæus and the Gandâra of Darius's inscriptions. In the army of the last Persian monarch, defeated by Alexander at Gaugamela, 60 miles from Arbela, the satrap of Baktria had in his contingent, "the Hindus that bordered on the Baktrians." At the same time, the satrap of the Arakhotians brought in his contingent τοὺς ὀξείους Ἰνδοὺς καλουμένους. These last seem to be the Ὠξεῖται of Strabo, a people in the south-east corner of Gedrosia. Though both these were Hindus on the hither or western side of the Indus, the former only seem to be intended where it is said, that the elephants in the last Darius's army, about fifteen in number, were furnished by the Hindus of the hither side of the Indus. See Arrian, Exp. Alex. ii. 8 §§ 3–6 and 25 § 8. The conquest of the country whence the Hindus of the Baktrian contingent came, seems to be that achieved by the Macedonian on his march from Baktra (Balkh) to the Indus (at Peshawar). The Kôphên is called by Josephus, a river of India; Antiq. i. 6 § 4. The tribute of gold-dust paid to the king of Persia from the northern Hindus may have come to them from "Ants" (miners or diggers) of tribes yet more to the north or north-east. See Herod. i. 215, iv. 104, iii. 116.

[g] See Herod. vii. 65, 69.

III.

But the principal proof that Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, was not the husband of queen Esther, is found in the fact, that he must have lived in the generation of her grandchildren. She was, or might have been, his grandmother. This appears from the description, in the book "Esther," of Kish, the great-grandfather or third father in line of ascent of both Esther and Mordecai. Kish, it is said, was "a Benjamite who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah king of Judah; whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away."[a] Now Jeconiah or Jehoiachin succeeded his father Jehoiakim son of Josiah, in the eighteenth year of his age. Three months afterwards, when Nebuchadnezzar or Nebukhadrezzar king of Babylon, in the eighth year of his reign, arrived to reduce Jerusalem (which had been for several years in a state of revolt) the young king, with his mother, his servants, his princes, his officers, went out to the king of Babylon, who then entering the city, plundered the temple of a second portion of its precious contents, and therewith carried away, not a few only as when Daniel was taken to Babylon eight years before, but all, so to say; that is, almost all, including the most considerable of every sort. It is said that the king of Babylon carried off "all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, ten thousand captives; and all the craftsmen and smiths." Skilled, as well as unskilled human labour was required to carry on the conqueror's vast works at Babylon and the other cities of his proper dominions. It is said of Judah, "None remained, except the poorest of the people of the land; Nebuchadnezzar carried away to

[a] See Esther ii. 5–7, 15. For the several methods of writing this Jewish king's name, *Yeconyah, Yeconyahu, Conyahu, Yehoyakîn* and *Yoyakîn*, see 1 Chron. iii. 16, Jerem. xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxiv. 1, xxii. 24, 28, xxxvii. 1, 2 Kings xxiv. 8–17, Jerem. lii. 31, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, Ezek. i. 2.

Babylon king Jehoiachin, his mother, his wives, his officers, and the mighty of the land." It is further said; "All the men of might seven thousand, the craftsmen and smiths a thousand, all that were strong and apt for war, them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon." At Jerusalem he had made, and left behind him, king, instead of Jehoiachin, a brother of Jehoiachin's father; giving him on this occasion the new name of Zedekiah. Such is the account which the Hebrew second book of Kings supplies of Jehoiachin or Jeconiah's captivity. The eighth year of Nebukhadrezzar's reign (by the Hebrew reckoning) was the eleventh and last regnal year of their own king Jehoiakim; and it ended about seventeen months earlier than Nebukhadrezzar's eighth year, according to the Chaldæan reckoning of Berosus and of Ptolemy's Canon; for it was the Jewish civil year that ended along with the sixth Mosaic month in the year B. C. 598. That the regnal years of the kings of the house of David were Jewish civil years, we shall have occasion to prove hereafter. For what else has been now stated as to the date of Jeconiah's captivity, we may be permitted to refer the reader not only to Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici* but to a paper on Ptolemy's Chronology of Babylonian reigns printed in the eighteenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the autumn, then, of the year B. C. 598 happened the deportation of king Jeconiah or Jehoiachin with that Jewish multitude in which the prophet Ezekiel and Esther's great-gradfather Kish the Benjamite were both included. Kish, perhaps, as Josephus intimates, was of the house of that Saul son of Kish who was first anointed king in Israel. However this may have been, he may fairly be considered a man in the prime of life when he went in the captive colony to Babylon; not too old to have been brother to his captor, and to his captor's wife's brother. If so, his great-grandchildren Esther and Mordecai will have been of the same generation with the great-grandchildren of Nebukhadrezzar and Astyages.

Now the oft-cited and oft-to-be-cited Behistun inscription records two pretended sons of Nabunit, Nabonedus,

Labynetus, or Nabonadius, that kingly personage who (according to Berosus) after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in B. C. 538 surrendered to the conqueror the neighbouring Borsippus or Borsippa, where stood, and stands in ruin, the great temple of Nebo, now called Birs Nimrûd.[b] Here, after a defeat in the field, Nabunit had till then held out, while Belshazzar his wife's son by a former husband, son of the great Nebukhadrezzar, remained secure where he who was pre-eminently entitled Bel had his temple, within the gigantic defences, and amid the inexhaustible stores of Babylon.[c] Of his pretended sons, each called himself in turn "son of Nabunit" rather than "son of Belshazzar;" perhaps because Nabunit's family had with him survived, while Belshazzar's sons, if any, had notoriously perished with their father; or because for his long and popular administration, Nabunit the husband of Nitokris was a dearer or a nobler memory than Belshazzar. They may, therefore, both be looked upon as substitutes for sons of Belshazzar, that is, as great-grandchildren by substitution of Nebukhadrezzar. It was in B. C. 538 that Belshazzar was slain; and they claimed the throne of the paternal grandfather of Belshazzar, the one in B. C. 521 at the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspes' son, the other at the end of B. C. 519, when sons of Belshazzar would have attained to manhood. Therefore, Esther and Mordecai should be of the same generation.

But if this case of a contemporary generation be exceptionable, we have another which is not. We can point to great-grandchildren of Astyages king of the Medes, who, as we have observed, no less than his sister's husband Nebukhadrezzar, may fairly be taken for a contemporary of the Hebrew captive Kish. These are the children of Cyrus the Persian, Cambyses and that Smerdis, Bardiya, or Tanaoxares, who was twice personated after

[b] See the article on the *Birs Nimrûd* by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, appended to the 17th vol. of the R. A. S.'s Journal. A sketch of the ruin is given in G. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 242.

[c] See the passage cited from the third book of the *Chaldaica* of Berosus by Josephus cont. Apion. i. 20.

his untimely death, by pretenders to the throne, first in the reign of his brother Cambyses, and again in the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes: that is to say, first in B. C. 522, and again towards the close of B. C. 519. Now, to these sons of Cyrus Darius was in age a brother: for at the death of Cyrus he was twenty years old,[d] and at the death of Cambyses he was the father of three sons.[e] His father, too, Hystaspes, though he survived the father of Cambyses fourteen years, and perhaps many more, had been Cyrus's companion in arms.[f] For age, therefore, no less than the sons of Cyrus, the son of Hystaspes might have been Esther's brother, and it is impossible that Darius's grandson Artaxerxes son of Xerxes can be Esther's husband Ahasuerus, as the historian Josephus and his followers have supposed.

This conclusion as to the generation upon earth in which Esther lived, after having conjectured it from the times of Nebukhadrezzar's descendants, we have attained, by applying to the four generations from Kish to herself the measure of the four corresponding generations from Astyages to Cambyses, Smerdis and Darius. But it may be still more solidly sustained. We may in like manner apply to Esther's pedigree the measure of the corresponding generations in other pedigrees.

The information concerning the twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty which was bequeathed to us by Greek writers, as Herodotus and Diodorus, and by the Egyptian Manetho, through Africanus and Eusebius, is now so reinforced by the discoverers and interpreters of hieroglyphic, that is, Egyptian, inscriptions, that in this, too, we are able to count and measure the steps of descent, corresponding with those from Kish to Esther; and thus, from the known chronological position of the king corresponding with Esther in the degree of his descent, to infer the date

[d] Herod. i. 209. [e] Herod. vii. 2.

[f] See Herod. i. 209, 210; and in Xenophon's Cyropædia, besides other passages, vii. 1 § 19, and vii. 4 § 8. That Hystaspes survived Cyrus at least fourteen years, appears from the record of him in the Behistun Inscription.

at which Esther was in the prime of life. Contemporary, then, with Jeconiah king of Judah, Nebukhadrezzar's captive, was the Pharaoh of Egypt Psammis, or Psametikhus the second, son of Nekho and father of Hophra; two Pharaohs, of whom the first was defeated abroad and the latter at home by Nebukhadrezzar king of Babylon. Psammis reigned six years; from B. C. 593 to B. C. 588; or from the fifth to the tenth year nearly of Jeconiah's captivity, which is the captivity of Esther's ancestor Kish; and meanwhile Jeconiah's age grew from about twenty-three to about twenty-eight years. The great-grandson of Psammis should, therefore, be of the same generation with Esther and Mordecai, the great-grandchildren of Kish. But the great-grandson of Psammis, that is, the son, or at least the step-son, of his grand-daughter was Psamenitus son of Amasis; who succeeded Amasis and six months aferwards (being then himself a father [g]) was dethroned by Cambyses in B. C. 525; when Cambyses was in the fifth year of his reign. Psamenitus, then, may fairly be taken to be of the same generation with his conqueror, and, if so (as has been noted already) with Darius son of Hystaspes also. Therefore, Esther could not have been the young wife of Darius's grandson, as is supposed by Josephus.

Before we leave this parallel Egyptian descent from Psammis to Psammenitus, we may observe that Darius's successive rivals at Babylon, the two above-mentioned sons of Nabunit, would perhaps have been great-grandchildren, like Psammenitus, of the Pharaoh Psammis, had they really been sons of Belshazzar's mother Nitokris by her second husband, as we regard Nabunit to be. For the Babylonian Nitokris of Herodotus, whose name (borne also by a sister of the Pharaoh Hophra or Apries) proves her an Egyptian by birth, may have been identical with the same historian's *Nitêtis* daughter of *Apries*, who was wedded to an Asiatic conqueror, or lord paramount, of Egypt; though to which, Herodotus's Persian and

[g] Herod. iii. 14, 15.

Egyptian contemporaries were not agreed and were alike mistaken.[h]

We have now proved, by a double argument, from the pedigrees of Cambyses and Psammenitus, at what epoch Esther flourished. Yet, to corroborate the conclusion by the help of other parallel pedigrees, it may further be observed that the great-grandchildren of Jeconiah king of Judah, who (as has been said) was eighteen years old in the eighth year (by Jewish reckoning) of Nebukhadrezzar's reign, that is, in B. C. 598, and whose captivity was shared by Kish, these and the great-grandchildren of Seraiah, high-priest of Judah, (who in the nineteenth regnal year of Nebukhadrezzar by the same reckoning, and in the eleventh of the captivity of Jeconiah and of Kish, that is, in B. C. 587, on the final capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, was put to death by his conqueror at Riblah in the land of Hamath[i]) ought to be contemporaries of Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, if this Artaxerxes married Esther, as Josephus supposes. But in fact, they were the contemporaries of his father and grandfather.

IV.

The preceding argument from parallel descents will be illustrated, so as to become perfectly clear, by the comparative Table now offered to the reader. Side by side with the stages of the descent of Esther and Mordecai from Kish, it exhibits the corresponding generations of several other pedigrees; and by the dates of these it indicates, nearly, the several positions in time, of Kish and his lineal descendants. But it has not been constructed with this single view. It may be found useful for reference on other points of history, necessarily involved, or treated by way of digression, in the present volume.[a]

[h] Herod. iii. 1-3.

[i] See 2 Kings xxiv. 8–12; xxv. 18–21.

[a] For Notes on the Comparative Table of Descents see our Appendix No. 1.

Some, indeed, would probably have preferred it, if we had restricted their view (and our own) more closely to the generations in the several pedigrees, parallel with the four from Kish to Esther. If it should be contended, that, in the Median genealogy the ancestors of the first Cyaxares—in the Persian those of Hystaspes and the descendants of the first Artaxerxes—in that of the kings of Judah the predecessors of Josiah—and in that of the high priests the successors of Eliashib—might have been omitted without detriment to our argument, we will not dispute the criticism. But we shall be glad if the Table in its larger extent should lead any one to observe, with us, the superiority of Israel, in respect of continuous and authentic ancient history, over the nations most celebrated in the world before the advent of that King of the house of David king of Israel, to Whom now, though absent, the most powerful nations of the world profess or half-own allegiance; and for Whom, when reduced to vassalage, ancient Israel waited, under the Babylonian, the Mede, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman sway. In the Table, the generations of the house of David begin only with Uzziah; and yet, the year before the Advent at which the chronology of the Greeks—the register of Olympic festivals—commences, is in his reign: while the Chaldean era of Nabonassar and the date of the foundation of Rome, are years in the reign of his son.

CHAPTER VI.

I.

We have now sufficiently proved it, That Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, the king who in the seventh year of his reign sent Ezra the Jewish priest and scribe to Jerusalem, and who in the twentieth year of his reign sent thither as governor his Jewish cupbearer, the eunuch Nehemiah, while the grandson of Jeshua, Eliashib, was high-priest, could not possibly be the husband of Esther, as Josephus has been followed by Prideaux and others in supposing. Moreover, both the arguments that have been employed in the case of the son of Xerxes, are yet stronger when used against any of his successors. Three of these, indeed—his son Okhus Darius, his grandson Arsakes Artaxerxes, and his great-grandson Okhus Artaxerxes—each of them reigned long enough to have put a favourite minister to death in a twelfth year of reign. But, for the latter two, even this feeble indication may be counterbalanced by the observation, that, during forty-five if not all the forty-six years of Arsakes Artaxerxes and during the first nine years of his successor Okhus Artaxerxes, Egypt had thrown off the Persian yoke, and was ruled by eight native kings in quick succession; so that Arsakes Artaxerxes could not possibly, and Okhus Artaxerxes could not with any propriety, be distinguished as the Ahasuerus who ruled from India to Ethiopia. As to the first of these three,

Okhus Darius commonly called Darius Nothus, we do not urge it that Egypt is generally supposed to have revolted in his reign, because we cannot find this opinion to be well founded;[a] but his half-sister and queen, Parysatis, who bore him his eldest son and successor, Arsakes, before his accession to the throne, and who remained the powerful queen-mother after his death, excludes him from being identified with the husband of Vashti and Esther. It is superfluous to contend, as we might, that, on the scene of the private life of Arsakes Artaxerxes (Mnemon) there is no room left by Plutarch for these successive queens of Ahasuerus; though Eusebius[b] thought himself reduced to believe that if the Assuerus of the Hebrews was an Artaxerxes, as the Seventy translators made him, he was this Artaxerxes.

It is necessary, therefore, to return to those two predecessors of Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, whose claim we deferred, and between whom alone it now remains to choose the Ahasuerus of the book Esther. They are, Xerxes the father, and Darius son of Hystaspes the grandfather, of Artaxerxes the Long-armed; or (as Josephus would teach us to call him) Cyrus Artaxerxes.

First, it shall be shown, that the king the book speaks of, cannot be Xerxes, as Joseph Scaliger long ago, and as Milman with others of our day, have supposed him. Of the arguments which served against the claim made by Josephus, Prideaux, and their party,[c] in behalf of Artaxerxes the son, one is equally conclusive against

[a] See the Appendix No. 2 *On the position in Persian history of the 28th 29th and 30th (native) Egyptian dynasties.*

[b] Ap. Georg. Syncellum, ed. Dindorf. p. 485. Because (as Eusebius argues, ap. Syncellum, p. 473) if, as some say, the matters of Esther and Mardochæus had happened under Artaxerxes the first, Ezra the scribe, and Eliashib the high priest, the book of Ezra would have mentioned Esther.

[c] Nicephorus, Archbishop of Constantinople, in his brief chronography, a view of the times from Adam to Michael and Theophilus emperors of Constantinople, printed at the end of Dindorf's George Syncellus, observes on Artaxerxes ὁ μακρόχειρ. "In this king's time, they say, happened the matters of Esther and Mardochæus." p. 743.

Xerxes the father. The "great king" of the book Esther is distinguished—at least from his predecessors—as the king who ruled from India to Ethiopia. Of these opposite extremities of the Persian empire when it had reached its widest limits, we showed that the African Ethiopians were first conquered by Cambyses, while the Indian dependents were first acquired by Darius the father of Xerxes; whereupon we argued that, as two kings had reigned over this extent of nations before Artaxerxes, the fact of their subject condition could not with propriety be applied either by a contemporary or by a later writer to distinguish the reign of Artaxerxes. In like manner we argue now against Xerxes. He could not with propriety be distinguished from the kings who had preceded him by the fact, that he reigned from Hindu to Kush, from the Upper Indus to the Upper Nile, because Darius his father had already possessed this empire. Our inference, therefore, is, that Xerxes is not the Ahasuerus of Esther.

The other argument which helped to confute the notion that Artaxerxes son of Xerxes is the king who married Esther for love—namely, that she must have been old enough, when he came to manhood, to be his grandmother (or, at least, the sister of his grandmother) applies, too, as against Xerxes; but with less force, because it sometimes happens, though the case is rare, that the sister of a man's mother is younger than the man, while yet her generation is that of his father and mother.

In establishing the objection against Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, we of course made it appear that Esther was, or might have been, the mother of Xerxes,—the grade being considered of the descent of each from contemporary ancestors, together with the fact that, in her yonthful beauty, she became the crowned wife of one in the line of kings to which Xerxes belonged. We made it appear by the way, that in the seventh regnal year of Xerxes, when (according to the identification patronized by Joseph Scaliger and by Eichhorn, Milman, Gesenius and others) he married Esther, the bride was probably more than fifty years old, and therefore no longer so "fair of form and

good of countenance," as the Hebrew writer describes her to have been when she was added to the "many fair young virgins" that had been gathered to Susa out of all the provinces for the king Ahasuerus to choose him a queen among them.

Adding this probable disparity of years to the objection already made, that Xerxes was not entitled to be distinguished from his predecessors as the king who ruled from the Panjâb to Nubia, we might be allowed to conclude at once, that he cannot be the Great King spoken of in the book Esther, and hence it would follow (since every other king has already of necessity been rejected) that (as Archbishop Ussher and others long ago maintained) Darius Hystaspes' son is the king intended in that record.

II.

But this book of the Canon of holy Hebrew Scriptures, wherein it is related how one Hadassah or Esther, a Jewess, having become the queen of a king of Persia, was the means of saving her people from extermination, some writers, with an intolerable self-sufficiency, despising the authority of its language, its matter, the custody it comes from, and the remoteness of the date at which we know it to have had a place in that custody, have presumed to dishonour as a mere fiction. The existence of the feast Purim among the Jews of all countries at the present day, as in the days of Josephus, is a silent testimony singly sufficient to confute this arrogant piece of "rationalism." But other critics are so good as to content themselves with regarding this book and its fellows of the same sacred list, as written by persons, of competent information perhaps, but who if not dishonest were at least too interested or prejudiced to fail of distorting the events and the characters concerned in their narratives. Queen Esther, therefore, by such learned liberals, is readily identified with the cruel Amestris of the Greek historians. They

know better than to take the word of a Jew. And, divorcing—or rather, discrowning and degrading—Vashti for her contempt, choosing a new queen, as Ahasuerus chose Esther; giving up the Jews, as a people whose lawless life was spread perniciously throughout the empire, to the discretion of a minister who had advised their destruction and who proceeded to arm with the king's authority the hatred of the various populations in the midst of which they were scattered, like the Christians of the first three centuries in the Roman world where idolaters called them "atheists;" lastly, on the downfall of this minister, by the advice of a better, to save the Church—the menaced minority—yet without revoking his first order, only withdrawing his aid and favour from the execution of it and by his royal letters permitting the Jews in every city to gather in self-defence, to slay if they would any who should set upon them; nay, by way of further retribution, to lay hands on the wives and children and other property of such assailants during the day whereon the former letters allowed them to be assailed,—these acts of a monarch, believed to be the infallible lord of the lives and properties of all his subjects; one whose word was not to be gainsaid even by himself, and who (like those that preceded and followed him on his seat) was a polygamist—are pronounced by critics unable to divest themselves of the ideas of their own age and continent, to be so strange, so shameful, that, if they happened, no Persian monarch could have imagined or allowed them, except the husband of Amestris, that old common-place of rhetorical invective, Xerxes.

Such being the case, we must not content ourselves with the reasons already offered to show that Xerxes ought not to be identified with Esther's Ahasuerus. If we can, it will be our duty, disregarding ceremony, to leave our antagonists in the matter not a crutch to stand upon; except, of course, the infallibility of their instincts or intuition:—which, indeed, we value too lightly not to make them a present of. But there are reasons vouchsafed to persons who lack the perceptions that transcend

ordinary methods of attaining to truth, and need no testing before they are believed. There are reasons given, why, notwithstanding any strange disinclination to submit to the authority of such perceptions, we should nevertheless acquiesce in the results. Now, in the present case, these reasons stand upon a miscalculation of dates and a misrepresentation of recorded facts.

To establish the identity of Esther's Ahasuerus with the husband of Amestris,—though our countryman might have done better if he had examined for himself the transactions said to be similar, and if he had calculated for himself the dates asserted to correspond—one whom Milman chose to follow in the last edition we have seen of his *History of the Jews*,—Eichhorn, "a learned German," has produced two coincidences between the story of Esther's lord, and that which Greek writers have handed down of Xerxes. We are told that "the synchronisms remarked by Eichhorn strongly confirm this view," (that Ahasuerus is Xerxes.) "In the *third* year of his reign Ahasuerus summons a *divan* of all the great officers of the kingdom at Susa, whom he entertains and banquets 180 days. In his *third* year Xerxes in a great assembly deliberates and takes measures for the subjugation of Greece. In his *seventh* year Xerxes returns discomfited to Susa, and abandons himself to the pleasures of his harem."[a] The counterpart in the story of Ahasuerus, as if too well known to need telling, is left us to supply from our own memory. Honestly, then, it is this. In *his* seventh year Ahasuerus did not like Xerxes, carry on intrigues, first with a brother's wife and then with a son's bride, the daughter of that brother's wife, till, upon a discovery of the matter, his queen revenged herself horribly on her elder rival, the mother of her son's wife; whereupon, the king's brother, flying with his sons and other friends and followers, for the country of the Baktrians and Sakæ, where he was satrap, was overtaken on the road by the king's troops and perished with all his party. In his seventh year Ahasuerus executed a plan, reputed

[a] *History of the Jews* (in the Family Library) 2d ed. vol. ii. p. 17.

lawful, which had been for more than twelve months in preparation, and the purpose of which was to fill the place of a queen whom he had deposed and banished from his presence—by substituting one who should owe all to the king's own grace and selection only. This conduct of Ahasuerus cannot be likened to that of Xerxes, without dropping every distinctive feature in both cases. In particular, the difference of purposes must be forgotten. Moreover, the position in respect of all else, occupied then by the reputed, if not actual, king of kings and master of all men, must be confounded with that of a so-called despotic member of the present Europæan fraternity of kings; and we must put out of sight the difference between the law of marriage in a Christian continent and the polygamy of the Persian empire.

The argument cited from Eichhorn amounts to this:—that certain acts of the king at two separate times or epochs in the reign of Xerxes being similar to acts of the king at the corresponding times in the reign of Ahasuerus, and one king in the line to which Xerxes belonged being identical with Ahasuerus; we may conclude that the reigns of Xerxes and Ahasuerus are not two but one reign; or (in other words) that the Ahasuerus of the book Esther is the Xerxes of Herodotus. We reply to this argument by denying the first condition which it assumes for its basis; and to make our denial good, it would be sufficient to point out the real dissimilarity of the royal acts compared, a work which might briefly and with ease be accomplished; but we propose to show that the times of action produced from the respective reigns do not correspond, or, if one pair be adjusted together, the other pair will not fitly meet.

Of the two pretended "synchronisms," then, we will examine first the synchronism or likeness in regnal date between the assembly described in the Hebrew record which is one entertained by Esther's Ahasuerus at Susa, and the assembly of which a Greek record informs us,—one which listens and advises on a communication made to it by Xerxes of his intention to invade Greece.

Now, these assemblies in themselves, according to the only evidence we possess, were not similar, and it is not certain that even in their position in the reigns which it is desired to identify, they are described as similar.

For, in the first place, granting that they may be understood—not indeed to synchronize in the proper sense of the word, but—to occupy like positions in the regnal periods compared, it does not appear from the descriptions that the assemblies were similar. Of Ahasuerus's "divan" the only record is this, in the opening of the book Esther: "Now, it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus—this (is) Ahasuerus which reigned from India to Ethiopia over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces—that in those days, when the king Ahasuerus sat on the throne of his kingdom, which was in Shushan the palace, in the third year of his reign, he made a feast unto all his princes and his servants, the power" (that is, the army) "of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces (being) before him; when he showed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honour of his excellent majesty many days, (even) an hundred and fourscore days; and when those days were expired, the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shusan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace." Now, in such a time as is here described, of pageantry and feasting (necessary measures of king-craft in absolute monarchies) we do not deny that a council might be held, on such a matter as the invasion of Greece. Nay, we believe (as we shall have occasion to urge hereafter) that in fact many a council was held by the king Ahasuerus, after the Persian fashion, both in his revels and in his sober mornings, during these six months at Susa.[b] We say, however, that no known circumstances of the Council held by Xerxes resemble any recorded of

[b] See Herod. i. 133. For the practice of the ancient Germans, who may be taken to include the North-men of Scandinavia, George Rawlinson in his notes cites Tacitus in the *Germania* cap. 22; and for that of the Scythians, Thracians, Celts, Iberians, and even the Carthaginians, he cites Plato *De Legibus* i. p. 637,E.

Ahasuerus's entertainments at Susa. Itself, Herodotus describes it as "a select council of Persian nobles," σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων. Accordingly, he makes Xerxes speak therein of the course of success which they had run since they had succeeded the Medes in the supremacy.[c] A similar council, Περσέων οἱ ἐπίκλητοι, assembled under Xerxes after the battle of Salamis.[d] And with these councils held by Xerxes we may compare that which Cambyses is related to have called around his death-bed;[e] also, that which Darius convened in the matter of the contumacy of the Persian governor of Sardis, Oroites;[f] though the notion of Herodotus that these (the earlier of them especially) were composed exclusively of Persians, we do not believe to have been correct.

Thus, between the council which Xerxes called, on the invasion of Greece, and that assembly at Susa which Ahasuerus entertained for 180 days, no similarity of feature is discoverable. The question, however, is yet to be answered, Have we not an indication that the two meetings synchronized,—at least, that the deliberations of the one happened during the 180 days of the other, if it be true (as Eichhorn alleges) that Xerxes called his council in his third regnal year, even as Esther's Ahasuerus held his entertainments during 180 days, and again seven days, in his third year of reign? Why, the truth is, that the sameness of regnal date cannot be admitted in this first instance without a surrender of the sameness of regnal date claimed for the harem pleasures of Xerxes after his return from Greece, and for the choice of a new queen by Ahasuerus.

It is not a matter of record, but of inference, that Xerxes held his council about Greece in the third year of his reign. Undoubtedly, he may have had occasion to call many councils in the third, as in every other year of his reign. But the council concerning the invasion of Greece, may seem to be assigned by Herodotus to a position in the series of the acts of his reign, different from the po-

[c] Herod. vii. 8. [d] Herod. viii. 101. [e] Herod. iii. 65.
[f] Herod. iii. 127.

sition assigned in the book Esther to Ahasuerus's entertainments at Susa. Our sole authority for Xerxes' council about Greece, Herodotus, does not warrant Eichhorn, or any one, to assert for certain more than that it was held after the recovery of Egypt,—an enterprise which the king not only conducted but accomplished (as Herodotus seems to have understood his information) in the year after that in which Darius his father died; and this (according to the Egyptian custom of registering regnal years) was the second year of the reign of Xerxes. The historian's statement is this; "When Xerxes was persuaded to march an army against Greece,—upon that, in the second year after the death of Darius, he first made an expedition against the Egyptians that were in revolt, and (then) after the winning of Egypt, as he was preparing to take into hand the expedition against Athens, he mustered a select body of Persians of the highest distinction."[g] Here, we think, it is intimated that the winning of Egypt first and the muster of the Persian notables afterwards, happened in the same regnal year of Xerxes; and this we take to be his second,—or the calendar year after the one which was marked by the death of Darius as well as by the accession of Xerxes, but which was counted entire in Egyptian lists of reigns,—not to Darius, as his last regnal year, but—to Xerxes, as his first. But by the Canon or tabular list—used by the astronomer Claudius Ptolemy—of reigns at Babylon from Nabonassar to Alexander the Macedonian, the second of Xerxes was the year E. N. 264 or B. C. (nearly) 484, and (according to the rule observed in the list as to the assignment of those years in which one reign ended and another began[h]) the year before, or E. N. 263, that is B. C. (nearly) 485, being the first regnal year of Xerxes, is the year in which Darius died.

[g] Herod. vii. 7, 8. His words are these :—

Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα, δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτεϊ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου, πρῶτα στρατηΐην ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀτεστεῶτας. . . Ξέρξης δὲ, μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἅλωσιν, ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἀξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο.

Compare the two correlatives πρῶτα μὲν and μετὰ δὲ in Herod. ix. 25.

[h] See Appendix No 3 for *Cases proving the custom of Ptolemy's Canon.*

The council, then, held by Xerxes, Herodotus appears to assign to the second, not to the third, year of the king; herein following the Egyptian calculation of the regnal years of Xerxes. To suppose Herodotus's informants here Egyptians, is by no means inconsistent with the acknowledgment that he has given no details of the subjugation of the revolted people of Egypt by Xerxes;—that he has recorded nothing more than the bare fact, and the date of it. It was the rule of our historian's Egyptian informants to withhold from the intelligent and curious Greek, as much as possible, all matters not agreeable to themselves to remember or to tell. Thus, in the sketch which they gave of their national history, they omitted the Chaldean conqueror of Apries; and as to the Assyrian invasions, they told only the defeat of Sennacherib.

Besides this date which Herodotus apparently assigns to the council—differing from that which Eichhorn supposes—it is to be observed, that the place where the council met, does not appear from Herodotus's account to be the place where Ahasuerus's entertainments were held, namely Susa. Though he mentions no locality, to us it seems that the historian conceived Egypt to have been the scene. Certainly, if an expedition to avenge the defeat of Darius's generals at Marathon was not an after-thought,—and that it was an after-thought, is contrary not only to the belief but to the facts of Herodotus—it was proper to come to a determination whether to resume or to let drop the original purpose, as soon as the obstacle which the revolt of Egypt had interposed was removed, and while the contingents of the various nations, needed to reduce but not now to hold the province, were yet present with their respective commanders. Besides, as in a career of aggression it often happens that one step demands another, the independence of Greece may have appeared dangerous to the secure possession of Egypt. On the one hand, that nation of seamen and soldiers, if not subject to the Great King, was a source from which the people of Egypt might derive assistance in future attempts to break his yoke; and on the other, if Greece was to be invaded, the re-

conquered province had large resources to draw upon, for ships, crews, and every description of stores.

Not only, then, does Herodotus appear to date in the second not in the third year of the king the council of Xerxes about Greece, but, far from asserting that the place where the council met was Susa, he rather leads us to fix upon the capital of Egypt. At Memphis in the second year of the reign of Xerxes, according to Egyptian computation, the question would naturally arise, Should the king proceed at once to the conquest of Greece or should further preparation be made.

However, the Jews, no less than the Egyptians, appear to have counted each of the Persian regnal years from a New year's-day of their own calendar—that is, the Mosaic; not, as under their own kings of the house of David, the calendar of the civil year. Now, in the time of Xerxes, the Egyptian new-year's-day, the first of Thoth, stood, in the circle of the natural year, at the distance of three months on one side, and of nine months on the other, apart from the Mosaic new-year's-day, the first of Nisan. Therefore we own, that if Darius not only died, (as Ptolemy's Canon shows) after the year had begun assigned to Xerxes as his first, the year N. E. 263, but also died before the first of Nisan in that year—that is, if he died on any day between the 23rd of December B. C. 486 and about the vernal equinox of B. C. 485—in that case, according to Jewish records and according to the book Esther (if this be regarded as a record of the reign of Xerxes, compiled at Jerusalem) the third year of Xerxes must have commenced on the first day of Nisan in B. C. 484, though on that day, according to Egyptian records (the authority followed, as we suppose, by Herodotus) and according to Ptolemy's Chaldæan Canon also, the second regnal year of Xerxes had yet nine months to run. Therefore, supposing Darius to have died, as aforesaid, in the first quarter of the year B. C. 485, it must be conceded to Eichhorn, that the council about punishing Athens and subjugating Greece would prove to be in the same regnal year of Xerxes by Jewish reckoning as were, by the same

reckoning, the entertainments at Susa in the reign of Esther's Ahasuerus. But it will be shown presently, that if this relative synchronism be claimed, on the hypothesis that Darius died *before* Nisan in B. C. 485, the other relative synchronism, asserted by Eichhorn, must be surrendered. Or, if that be retained, on the equally admissable hypothesis that Darius died *after* the first of Nisan in B. C. 485, this cannot be claimed at the same time on the contradictory hypothesis.

III.

PROCEED we next to that other so-called synchronism of Eichhorn's, between the reigns of Xerxes and of Esther's Ahasuerus. It is connected with, but it contradicts, the libel whereby Queen Esther is identified with Amestris; if it does not lead also in the end to a disproof of all identity between the husband of Esther and the husband of Amestris. We will state it, so far as it regards Xerxes, in the language of the above-cited "History of the Jews," and as it regards the husband of Esther, in our own; because this counterpart is left by the author of that history, for his reader to supply.

"In his seventh year, Xerxes returns discomfited to Susa, and abandons himself to the pleasures of his harem;" while in the seventh year of his reign, after other maidens had been offered to his choice, Esther also was introduced to Ahasuerus, who at once conceived such love for her, that he made her his queen in place of the vainly-regretted Vashti.

Now, if these not very similar proceedings, even as thus stated, of Xerxes and of Ahasuerus, really happened at similar dates in the reigns spoken of by Herodotus and by the writer of the book Esther respectively, a person who should be already rationalistically disposed to identify Xerxes with Ahasuerus, might liberally drop all differences in the transactions themselves, and seize upon the asserted similarity of their regnal position to justify his theory of the identity of the actors.

Let us see, then, whether the surrender of himself by Xerxes to the pleasures of his harem, or more properly (as our only authority Herodotus testifies) to his incestuous intrigues, after his return from the disastrous war in Europe, does relatively synchronize with the first acquaintance and the marriage of Ahasuerus with Esther. Let us see whether the adulteries of Xerxes and the nuptials of Ahasuerus correspond in their respective regnal dates.

From the book Esther it appears, that after a year of preparation the maiden Jewess was brought to the Persian monarch in his house royal at Susa in the tenth month (which is the month Tebeth, says the author to his countrymen) in the seventh year of the king.[a] Now, we know that the first month of the Mosaic or religious calendar of the Jews, the month called by Moses Abib, but now as in the later holy books of the Jews, Nisan, began about a fortnight or more before the time of the barley harvest in Palestine; and, further, somewhere about the time of the vernal equinox; though by what uniform method or what varying expedients the lunations of the religious Calendar were accommodated to the fixed circle of the seasons followed in the civil or secular calendar, we are ignorant. We know, too, that the month Tebeth (as the tenth month of this Mosaic calendar was called in after-times) was the fourth month of that patriarchal year which the children

[a] See Esther ii. 12, 16. Josephus (who usually seems to follow the Septuagint Greek version, or else Targums in his own vernacular, rather than the original text of the holy Hebrew Scriptures) here coincides with the Septuagint in relating that Esther was introduced to the king in the twelfth month of the Mosaic Calendar, which is *Adar*, in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes. See his Antiq. xi. 6 § 2. Of the Septuagint version of Esther (which seems loose and inaccurate throughout, besides that it is interpolated with Hellenistic ornaments, for example the royal letters dictated by Haman and Mordecai) the words are these, εἰσῆλθεν Ἐσθὴρ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταξέρξεα τὸν βασιλέα τῷ δωδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ὅς ἐστιν Ἀδάρ. The third hand in Tischendorf's MS *Frid-Aug.* has altered the number and the name to δεκάτῳ and τηβήθ. The suspicion might suggest itself that, the twelfth Persian month answering nearly to the Mosaic tenth, the author of Esther wrote, "in the twelfth (Persian) month, which is (our) Tebeth." But we incline to believe, that the Persians began their year at the same season with the Jewish Church.

of Israel still retained for agricultural and other secular purposes, after having for their religious festivals received the Mosaic calendar. Nor can we be far wrong, if we regard this fourth month of the civil or tenth month of the religious year as coinciding, in its first week with the last week of the Julian December and in its last three weeks with the first three weeks of the Julian January.[b] So much for the year and season of the year when Esther, having been preferred to the other maidens, was chosen by Ahasuerus to be his queen at Susa.

Turn we now to Herodotus's account of the first seven regnal years of Xerxes. As it has been already intimated, the Ionian historian's years of Xerxes appear to be, like the years of Ptolemy's Canon of reigns at Babylon, years of the Egyptian measure, consisting uniformly of 365 days; without any fraction to be accounted for by periodical intercalation. This is simply because he borrowed from Egyptian information the dates which he gives us for the reigns of Cambyses, Darius and Xerxes, whose regnal years, and those of the first Artaxerxes and the second Darius, were recorded in their province of Egypt as so many years of the Egyptian calendar,—years of a dynasty following the native twenty-sixth and counted by Manetho as the twenty-seventh; the series of which began with the year of the Perso-Median conquest of Egypt, the fifth regnal year of Cambyses at Babylon, the year N. E. 223 or B. C. 525. Now, it has been already noted that the

[b] The law of the wave-sheaf of barley and other laws prove that the lunar months of the religious calendar were adjusted from the first to the agricultural year. For the adjustment of the first and seventh months to the two equinoxes, see Philo Judæus, *De Septenario* §§ 18–24, *Quæst. in Genes.* lib. ii. § 47, and Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 3. § 3. From Joseph. Ant. v. 1. § 4, it appears that the killing of the passover must be in Nisan, τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην, ἐν ᾧ περὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος. By this we must understand, after the vernal equinox, or (by the Julian Calendar) after the 25th of March, or rather (as the Council of Nice took it) on or next after the vernal equinox. According to Georgius the Syncellus pp. 11–13 ed. Dind. 1829, in the Hebrew year (as adapted to the Julian) the four quarters began with 1 Nisan, 1 Thamuz, 1 Tisri, and 1 Tebeth, being 25 March, 24 June, 23 Sept. and 23 December.

first regnal year of Xerxes was the 263rd period of 365 days, counted from mid-day, the 26th of February B. C. 747, when the new-year's day began of the first year assigned to the reign of Nabonassar at Babylon.[c] So that it began, the 22nd of December B. C. 486. Consequently, the regnal year current according to Herodotus, when the king reconquered Egypt and consulted his council on avenging the defeat at Marathon by an overwhelming invasion of the European Greeks—the second of Xerxes—was the year E. N. 264 beginning in December B. C. 485, a quarter of a day earlier than the previous year did in the former December. From the spring of this year E. N. 264, Herodotus starts upon a new reckoning of time. Hitherto, in his seventh book, he had been counting years subsequent to the year B. C. 490 or E. N. 258, in which Darius's generals having crossed the Ægean and disembarked in Attica, were defeated by the Athenians at Marathon. He had counted three years, in which all Asia was in commotion with preparations for a more formidable effort;—a fourth year, in which Egypt revolted;—the year after, in which Darius died (and Xerxes succeeded);—the second year (current) after the death of Darius, being the second regnal year of Xerxes, in which the king reconquered Egypt, and turned his thoughts again to the invasion of Greece. Having thus arrived at B. C. 484 in early spring,—when (though he does not note the fact) an

[c] Ptolemy reckons all his epochs from mid-day: Μεγ. Συνταξ. iii. p. 79.

ἀπὸ τῆς Ναβονασάρου βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς ἔτη συνάγεται κατ' Αἰγυπτίους υκδ· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλείας ἔτη σϟδ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ α ἔτους Αὐγούστου κατ' Αἰγυπτίους τῆς ἐν τῷ Θὼθ α μεσημβρίας (ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἴσοχὰς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας συνιστάμεθα) μέχρι τοῦ ιζ ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀθὺρ ζ μετὰ δύο ἰσημερινὰς ὥρας τῆς μεσημβρίας γίνεται ρξα καὶ ἡμέραι ξς καὶ ὧραι ἰσημεριναὶ β.

Again xi. p. 271:—

ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ α ἔτους Ναβονασάρου Θὼθ α τῆς μεσημβρίας μέχρι τῆς ἐκκειμένης τηρήσεως χρόνος κ. τ. λ.

Compare Cabasillas on iii. 7, p. 180. So Clinton, F. H. vol. 3. Appendix 5 ("kings of Egypt"). Here Ptolemy computes 424 + 294 = 718 years before the reign of Augustus whose first year is reckoned in the Canon of Alexander's successors to commence from mid-day of the first of *thoth*, the 295th of Philip Aridæus N. E. 719. He thus verifies the dates of the two Canons or the two tables of the one Canon.

Olympic period (the 73rd) was to close at midsummer—he tells us that four years complete ensued of fresh preparation. The levies were made for the army and the fleet:—the two bridges were stretched across the Hellespont for the passage of the land-forces; while for the fleet which was to follow the European coast of the Ægean, beyond the strait and alongside of the army, a canal was cut through the isthmus of Athos, because a great naval armament, the first with which Greece had been threatened in the reign of Darius, had been wrecked in doubling the peninsula. Magazines were established and stored on the intended line of march through Thrace and Macedonia, countries already tributary. Xerxes himself had arrived and spent at Sardis the winter which completed the four years. Then, in the fifth year after his subjugation of Egypt,[d] being his sixth regnal year, the

[d] See Herod. vii. 20. for the four full years and for the fifth, πέμπτῳ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ. For ἀνομένῳ the Sancroft MS has ἀναισιμομένῳ, of which Wesseling observes, the Ionic form would be ἀναισιμουμένῳ. This gloss, signifies "while being consumed," "during the consumption of." Valckenaer tells us that Hesychius and Suidas interpret various inflexions of the verb ἄνειν by the corresponding ones of ἀνύειν, and the substantive ἄνην by ἄνυσιν. Hence, in his *Lexicon Herodotœum*, Schweighæuser makes the verb ἄνειν Ionic for ἀνύειν, *conficere*. And citing πέμπτῳ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ from Herod. vii. 20, he translates, "exeunte, sive rectiùs, progrediente, volvente, currente, quinto anno." The context itself shews that this fifth year was not πλήρεες "full," or "complete," like the four preceding. But Wesseling cites νέον ἤματος ἀνομένοιο, from Apollonius Rhod. ii. 496 and iii. 1339; and he refers us to Homer, Il. x. 251; where we read μάλα γὰρ νὺξ ἄνεται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἠώς. He affirms, too, that in Herod. i. 189, viii. 71, ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον is used "*in opere quod continuò procedit et porrigitur.*" Such a meaning might be expressed in English, "made way," "got on," or (if there is any affinity between the verb ἄνειν and the preposition ἀνὰ) "got up." As to the position of the fifth year, of Herod. vii. 20, Wesseling cites Thucyd. i. 18, and Plato, *de Legibus*, p. 698,c, for testimonies that Xerxes invaded Greece in the tenth year after the battle at Marathon: and that this battle was fought σχεδὸν δέκα ἔτεσι before that at Salamis. These of Thucydides and Plato must be Greek years; and if Herodotus's particulars of time, though his information may have been Egyptian in part, should likewise be considered as taken from a Greek measure, they may be accommodated to the ten years' space from Midsummer, the commencement of the Olympic and of the Athenian years, in B. C. 490, to Midsummer in B. C. 480. It may be

king set forth from Sardis for the Hellespont, early in

that Marathon saw Miltiades victorious before Midsummer B. C. 490; and Thermopylæ, we know, saw the death of Leonidas somewhat after Midsummer B. C. 480. Darius's three years' preparation after his defeat at Marathon (Herod. vii. 1) may end at Midsummer B. C. 487; the fourth year (Herod. vii. 1) in which Egypt revolted, may end at Midsummer B. C. 486; the following year (Herod. vii. 4) being the fifth of the ten, the year in which (when on the point of marching in person against Egypt) Darius died and Xerxes succeeded, may end at Midsummer B. C. 485. Egypt, which was recovered the next year, the second counted to Xerxes (Herod. vii. 7) may have been recovered in the same Julian year, but after Midsummer, and therefore in a new Olympic and Attic year, the sixth of the ten years. It may have been conquered in October, after the subsidence of the Nile-flood B. C. 485. Consistent with this conclusion is the report by Mr Birch of the British Museum (who cites Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 283, n.) of a record on the Kosseyr road in Egypt, of an act of adoration made "in the face of the god Khem lord of Kabti," or Coptos, on the ninteenth day of Thoth in the second year of Kishairsha, or Xerxes. See remarks furnished by Mr Birch at pp. 410–413 of Mr Loftus's *Chaldœa and Susiana*. This date is equivalent to the 9th of January B. C. 484; because the first of the Thoth of the second regnal year of Xerxes was New-year's-day E. N. 264; and that was 22 Dec. B. C. 485.

If, then, Egypt was recovered thus early, the four full years (Herod. vii. 20.) during which the preparations against Greece were renewed by Xerxes, will terminate in Oct. B. C. 481; or in about the fourth month of the tenth year after the victory of the Athenians at Marathon; and so, Xerxes may have set off from Sardis ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι, or at the beginning of April, in B. C. 480, πέμπτῳ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ "when the fifth year from the re-conquest of Egypt was getting on" towards its completion; (Herod. vii. 20) being, on the above hypothesis, in its sixth month; and also when the tenth year from Midsummer B. C. 490 was in the tenth month of its course. The hypothesis followed in our text, that Herodotus's years after Marathon are calendar years of Egypt, answering to E. N. 259, 260, 261 &c. or B. C. 489, 488, 487, (nearly) is not so well sustained by his words πέμπτῳ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ the date of the start from Sardis. This expression George Rawlinson renders "at the close of the fifth year;" and the departure thus dated he considers to be the move from Kritalla, mentioned in Herod. vii. 26; not the set out from Sardis, described in Herod. vii. 37. But it is said, chap. 20, that the start in the fifth year was after all the preparations had been made: and in chap. 37, that all was prepared when the army marched from Sardis; whereas it is expressly admitted in chap. 26 that all was not yet in readiness while Xerxes was on his march from Kritalla to Sardis. This from Kritalla appears to have been accomplished in the autumn of

the spring[e] of a year which must certainly have been B. C. 480 and N. E. 268, as testified by the Canon; because its summer saw a celebration of the Olympic games and a new Archon at Athens, Kalliades; both of which notes of time the learned Dionysius of Halicarnassus places at the commencement of the 75th Olympic period.[f] A passage for the army at the Hellespont was afforded by two bridges which were suspended on cables across vessels anchored side by side in two lines from the territory of Abydos in

B. C. 481, and we find that Xerxes on his arrival at Sardis had time to send heralds to order his daily repast at the several cities in Thrace and Macedonia, and to require earth and water throughout Greece; Herod. vii. 32. Darius's death Geo. Rawlinson places in B. C. 486. But certain it is, that the last year of the 36 which Herodotus as well as Ptolemy's Canon assigns to Darius's reign is, according to the Canon, the year of Egypt, E. N. 262 (ending about 22 Dec. B. C. 486) and, certainly, E. N. 263 (ending about 22 Dec. 485) is the first regnal year of Xerxes. Moreover, by the rule of the Canon it was not in his own last year but in the first of the years assigned to his successor, the year E. N. 263, when Darius died.

e ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. Herod. vii. 37.

f For the mention of the Olympic games, see Herod. viii. 26. The other note of time furnished by Herodotus, namely that four months after Xerxes passed the Hellespont he entered Athens in the archonship of Kalliades, is found in Herod. viii. 51. To these incidental notices in the narrative of Herodotus, add the authoritative attestation mentioned in the text of one who was perfectly accustomed to the use of the registers of archons and of celebrations of the Olympic games. He says in equivalent terms, that the invasion of Greece by Xerxes happened, and that the archonship of Kalliades at Athens began, in B. C. 480. In his *Rom. Antiq.* ix. 1, Dionysius of Halicarnassus dates either the consulship at Rome or the designation as consuls of *Cæs. Fabius.* ii. and *Spurius Furius*

ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Καλλιάδου· καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐστράτευσε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

The seventy-fifth Olympic festival was just after Midsummer B. C. (776—four times seventy-four, *i. e.* 296 years,=) 480. The month Hecatombæôn, the first of the Athenian year (Antiphon in the oration περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ, p. 146, 16–30, cited by Clinton) when the new archons came into office, is marked by Aristotle *(Hist. Animal.* v. 9, 6. cited by Clinton) as having its position about Midsummer, θέρους, περὶ τὸν ἑκατομβαιῶνα, περὶ τροπὰς θερινάς. For the Attic months, see Clinton F. H. vol. 2. Appendix 19. The Olympic games were going on, and Kalliades was just in office, when Xerxes was at Thermopylæ.

Asia to that of Sestos in Europe; and the space of seven days and seven nights was spent in crossing.[g] Thence, the march was continued to the vast plain of Doriskus on the Thracian coast, at the mouth of the river Hebrus, where there was a fort and a Persian garrison.

When the fleet also arrived here from the Hellespont; the ships having been hauled ashore, the king proceeded to a numbering and review of his forces. The land army, which in the further march through Thrace and Macedonia followed three parallel lines of march in three enormous columns of divisions—each column commanded by two of the six Persian generals-in-chief—was made up out of eight and forty nations; of which, one furnished cavalry only; ten furnished both cavalry and infantry; and the remainder, only infantry. The infantry, besides the myriad of Persian Immortals of which the complement was kept up by promotion to vacancies as they occurred in the ranks, formed twenty-nine divisions, each headed by a Persian (or a Mede); the native chiefs being all absolutely subordinate. These twenty-nine Persian (and Median) nobles marshalled and numbered the nations which they severally had under their command; and they appointed captains of a thousand and of a myriad, who were also (it is probable) for the most part Persians and Medes. The leaders of ten and leaders of an hundred were appointed by the commanders of the myriad. But undoubtedly, the hundreds, the thousands, and the myriads were generally defective in their complement of men; and often rather the frames and skeletons of such companies, battalions, and brigades than the complete bodies. The nations and divisions will be seen in the following list—

1. The Persians;
2. The Medes;
3. The Kissians;
4. The Hyrkanians;
5, 6. The Assyrians and Chaldeans;
7, 8. The Baktrians and Amyrgian Sakâ;

[g] See Herod. vii. 54–56.

9, 10. The Indians and straight-haired Ethiopians, (or Kushites of the East);

11. The Arians (of Herat);

12, 13. The Parthians and Khorasmians;

14. The Sogdians;

15, 16. The Gandarians and Dadikans;

17. The Kaspians;

18. The Sarangians;

19. The Paktyans;

20, 21. The Utians and Mykans;

22. The Parikanians;

23, 24. The Arabs and woolly-haired Ethiopians (or Kushites) from the parts of Africa above Egypt;

25. The Libyans;

26, 27. The Paphlagonians and Matienians;

28, 29, 30. The Mariandynians, Ligyans, (apparently, Asiatic Ligurians[h]) and Syrians, or rather Assyrians, called by the Persians, Kappadokians;

31, 32. The Phrygians and Armenians;

33, 34. The Lydians, formerly called Mæonians; and Mysians, described as an offshoot of the Lydians;

35. The Asiatic Thracians called Bithynians;

36, 37, 38. The Cabâlians,[i] the Mæonian Cabâlians

[h] See George Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. iv. p. 239.

[i] In the extant MSS at Herod. vii. 76, the name of the thirty-sixth nation is missing. The chapter begins ἀσπίδας δὲ, where the conjunction δὲ might lead to the opinion that more is here lost of the author's text than the name of a nation only, with a like conjunction following it as usual, in response to the Πέρσαι μὲν of chap. 61 at the beginning of the list of names. But I believe that, the thirty-sixth name having been here lost or having been injudiciously struck out, the fashion of the national accoutrement which followed was tacked on to the preceding account of the thirty-fifth nation by the insertion of the conjunction after ἀσπίδας. Wesseling, relying on the list in Herod. i. 28, of the nations west of the Halys, the subjects of Crœsus and the Lydians, filled up the gap with the name Χαλυβες and he is followed by later editors and by G. Rawlinson in his translation. We would rather substitute Καβαλέες or Καβηλέες in the list of the subjects of Crœsus. But whether or no, the passage to be relied on for filling up the gap in Herod. vii. 76 is one in the list of nations forming the twenty revenue satrapies of Darius Hystaspes' son, viz. Herod. iii. 90, where it is said

called Lasonians and armed like the Cilicians; also, the

that the Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabâlians and Hygennians (or, as it is thought, Hytennians) paid 500 talents and made up the second satrapy. Now, if the words with which the chapter Herod. vii. 77, begins, Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηΐονες Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεύμενοι, were quite correctly rendered, as by G. Rawlinson, "The Cabalians who are Mæonians but are called Lasonians," the conclusion would be that there were other Lasonians more properly so called and that these were the thirty-sixth nation in the army of Xerxes. But the designation of the thirty-seventh nation accurately rendered is, "The *Mœonian Cabalians* called *Lasonians*" or "The *Cabalians* that are *Mœonians* and are called *Lasonians:*" whence we conclude that there were other Cabalians of a different stock, to whom the name of Lasonians did not apply, and that these Cabalians proper are the thirty-sixth nation whose name is missing. The name appears to have been struck out from the commencement of chap. 76 on account of the repetition of it at the commencement of chap. 77. But it is too much to suppose that with this omitted Καβηλέες δὲ was also struck out a description appended to it, as that of the Sagartians is to their name in chap. 85, and distinguishing these Cabalians, as their Mæonian origin and special name of Lasonians distinguishes the others. Observe, that the designation under which we find the thirty-fifth nation in the list of the subjects of Crœsus, Herod. i. 28, confirms our opinion as to the proper translation of the term by which Herodotus designates the thirty-seventh nation in vii. 77, Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηΐονες Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεύμενοι. It is Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί: and it is accurately rendered by G. Rawlinson, "*Thynian* and *Bithynian Thracians.*" We may remark, that as in Scotland the Teutonic Lowlanders are called by the name of the Celtic Highlanders, and are regarded as Scots no less than the others, so the Lasonians were commonly confounded with the Cabâlians. Add, that the Lasonians, this people of Mæonian origin, are the only ancient nation known to us in Asia Minor whose name seems to connect them with the celebrated people of Lydian or *quasi*-Lydian descent (see Herod. i. 94) who, though known to the Greeks as Tyrrhenians and named by their Latin neighbours Etruscans, called themselves Ρασενα, after a sovereign or chief of their's, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus attests in his *Roman Antiquities* i. 30. The word *Lasne*, which occurs in their extant inscriptions, is taken to be the designation of their country. See Murray's Handbook of Central Italy, vol. i. p. 243. Of the site of the Lasonian name in Asia Minor, G. Rawlinson writes as follows: "The Lasonians are probably the same with the *Lysineans* of the numismatologists (Mionnet, Supplément, tom. vii. p. 120, No. 154. &c.) who were the inhabitants of a town called *Lysinoë* (Polyb. xxii. 19 § 2; Liv. xxxviii. 15.) or *Lysinia* (Ptolem. v. 5) situated in the neighbourhood of Sagalassus, on the

Milyans, anciently called Solymi;[j]

39, 40; The Moskhans and Tibarenans;

41, 42. The Makronians and Mossynoikans;

43, 44. The Marans and Kolkhians;

45, 46. The Alarodians and Saspeirians;

47. The islanders of the Erythræan Sea, that is, of the part of it now called the Persian Gulf.

48. Besides these nations, who all furnished infantry, and ten of them cavalry, there was one (as we have said) the forty-eighth, which contributed no infantry, but added 8,000 horsemen to the Persian division of cavalry. They were the Sagartians, Persian in language but half Paktyan in equipment.[k]

borders of Pisidia and Cabalia. The exact site has not been discovered. Mr Hamilton suggests a spot near *Auschar*, on the eastern coast of the lake *Egerdir*. (Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 478). But this is certainly too far from Sagalassus, and in the wrong direction. Lysinoe should lie south or south-west of Sagalassus. Cneius Manlius is advancing from the south, from Termessus, and other Pamphylian cities on his way to Sagalassus, when he receives the ambassadors of the *Lysineans:* and in this direction, at the distance of three miles (Fellows's Asia Minor, p. 166) is a village called *Alaysoon* or *Allahsûn* (Hamilton vol. 1. p. 486) in which it may be conjectured that we have a remnant of the ancient name." Herod. vol. iv. pp. 236, 237. Herodotus's Mæonian Cabalans or Lasonians should be those Lydian occupants of Cabalis spoken of by Strabo, xiii. 4 § 17, from whom the Kibyratæ were said to be descended and to whom was traced the Lydian dialect, extinct in Lydia proper but found along with three others, the Pisidian, that of the Solymi, and the Greek, among the people of Kibyra and the dependent district called Kibyratis. Strabo tells us, "they say the Cabalians (Καβαλεῖς) are Solymi." xiii. 4 § 16; and he appears to speak of the *Cabâlians proper*, whom we have restored to their place as the thirty-sixth nation in the army of Xerxes. If this belief was well-founded and the Milyans the aborigines of Lycia were also descended from the famous Solymi of Homer, Il. vi. 184, 203, as Herodotus has it, the Milyans and Cabalians were cognate races.

As a supplement to the observation above made, that the Lasonians, or Mæonian Cabâlians, are perhaps the stock from which the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans descended, see some etymological notes on the names Tyrrheni, Prisci, Volsci and Etrusci, in our appendix No. 4.

[j] See Herod. i. 173. Also Strabo, xii. 8 § 5; and xiv. 3 § 10.

[k] We have conjectured that the Paktyans, the nineteenth nation of the

The ten nations who, besides footmen, supplied riders to the army, were,

1. The Persians;

2, 3. The Medes and Kissians;

4. The Indians, some on horseback, some in chariots;

5, 6. The Baktrians and Caspians (of the Sakan country apparently [l]);

7. The Libyans (chariot-riders);

8, 9. The Caspians (of Kashpapura apparently, neighbours of the Paktyans [m]) and the Parikanians;

host of Xerxes, were a people that had received the appellation as a title of honour: because of its likeness to the Kissian words, rendered "Helper to me," of the Behistun Inscription; and as to their geographical position, we shall have to remark when we come to Darius and his twenty revenue divisions. Here we would observe that, if the blood of the Sagartians may be supposed to have been (like their dress and arms) partly *Paktyan* partly *Persian*, the farther conjecture may be hazarded, that the Paktyans were of the same race as the Kissians and as the more ancient population of Persis or Persia Proper. If so, although the appellation in the mouth of the giver may have been a term of his own Aryan tongue, the receivers on the other hand naturally translated it for their own use and honour by a term of their's.

[l] The infantry also of these Caspians is referred to in Herod. vii. 86. But I do not take them for his Caspians of vii. 67, the seventeenth of the nations that furnished infantry. They seem to be the Caspians whom, with the Sakans, he mentions as forming Darius's fifteenth satrapy, iii. 93. And their infantry, though not previously named by him, may have served among the Sakan infantry who were in the same division with the Baktrians; Herod. vii. 64. If this be correctly concluded, it will appear that Herodotus in his account of the nations led against Europe by Xerxes, abridged his materials.

[m] Of these second Caspians, too, Herodotus refers to the infantry. They seem to be his seventeenth nation of infantry, enumerated between the Gandârii and Dadikans on one side and the Sarangæ and Paktyans on the other; and who had cloaks of skin like the Paktyans, vii. 67. They seem, too, to be the Caspians who with the Pausikœ Pantimathi and Daritæ, made up Darius's eleventh satrapy, Herod. iii. 92. *Kaspapura*, as we should read with Hecatæus (instead of the Kastapura and Kaspatura, the various readings of the name in Herodotus) a city which Herodotus places in the Paktyan country and which Hecatæus of Miletus made a city of the Gandârâ, appears by the etymology of the name to have been their capital. The later editors of Herodotus

10. The Arabs, on fast camels, or dromedaries.

In all, exclusively of the Arab camel-riders and of the Libyan and Indian chariot-drivers, the cavalry is said to have amounted to eight myriads. But as, deducting Arabs and Libyans and counting the Persians and Sagartians as one nation, we obtain eight cavalry contingents; this number looks like a guess, which allotted to every contingent a myriad of horsemen. There were three Persian generals-in-chief of the cavalry; which seems to indicate that each of the three great infantry columns had its cavalry corps attached to it.

Besides the above-enumerated forty-eight nations, forming the land-army, there were the maritime nations who, in addition to some 3000 thirty-oared and fifty-oared galleys barges and horse-transports, supplied and manned the war-fleet of 1207 trireme galleys. Though counted separately by Herodotus, it is probable that not only the Persian, Mede, and Sakan soldiers who fought on deck, but the crews of these galleys (the fashion of whose arms is recorded in every case) amounting altogether to upwards of 240,000 men, were mustered ashore at Doriskus along with the land forces. So mustered, they would also undoubtedly be included with the riders and the armed footmen of every description and employment (whom as mere camp-followers we should neglect) in the 170 myriads, that is in the one million seven-hundred-thousand there counted, or rather

(whose text George Rawlinson follows in his translation) have too hastily followed the conjecture of Reize and substituted *Caspeirians* for these latter Caspians. In Herod. iii. 108 are mentioned—

Ἰνδοὶ Κασπατύρῳ τῇ πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυϊκῇ χώρῃ πρόσουροι·

and in Herod. iv. 44 of Darius's exploring expedition which Skylax of Karyanda accompanied, it is said, that starting

ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς ἔπλωον κατὰ ποταμὸν (τὸν Ἰνδὸν). . ἐς θάλασσαν·

and reached the port whence Nekho dispatched the Phœnician vessels for the circumnavigation of Africa, in the thirtieth month. Stephen of Byzantium, citing Hecatæus in the Periegesis of Asia, has—

Καστάπυρος, πόλις Γανδαρικὴ, Σκυθῶν ἀκτή.

See the 179th fragment of Hecatæus in the Fragm. Scriptor. Græc. edited by C. Muller and published by A. F. Didot, vol. i. p. 12.

measured in an inclosure said to contain one myriad.[n] This vast number we are ready to receive as the estimate of Herodotus's authorities. We suppose it to exaggerate the true numbers, and we do not think ourselves obliged to suppose, as Herodotus believed, that it excluded the crews and soldiers of the fleet, the cavalry and the camp-followers.

The fleet was commanded by four Persian generals-in-chief. The nations that supplied and manned[o] it and which are to be added in their order, to our previous list, were,—

49, 50. The Phœnicians and the Syrians of Palestine, or Philistines;

51. The Egyptians;

52. The Cyprians;

53. The Cilicians;

54. The Pamphylians;

55. The Lycians;

56. The Dorians of Asia;

57. The Karians;

58. The Ionians of Asia;

59. The Islanders of the Ægæan sea;

60. The Æolians;

61. The Hellespontians, whether Ionian or Dorian;

in all thirteen names.

Thus altogether, Xerxes led into Europe, there to be further reinforced by land and by sea, the contingents of about sixty countries; and the prophecy of Him Who spoke to Daniel in his last vision, fifty-four years before, was fulfilled,—That of the line of kings by whom Cyrus, then reigning, would be succeeded, "the fourth through his riches" would do that of which the recoil was Alexander's conquest of Asia,—would "stir up all against the realm of Yavan:" the Ionian, Hellenic, or Grecian race. One of this race, an inhabitant of the Hellespontian shore, beholding the army of Xerxes crossing the briny stream, is recorded by Herodotus to have exclaimed, "O

[n] Herod. vii. 60–88.

[o] Herod. vii. 89–99.

Zeus," (so the nation called their chief of gods) "why now choosest thou in the likeness of a man of Persian blood and with the adopted name of Xerxes instead of Zeus, to lead all human kind against Hellas to overthrow it? For thou mightest have done as much without their aid!" [p] But it was not the Most High: was it not rather the angel, the Prince of Persia spoken of to Daniel in his last vision, who visited Xerxes in his dreams, and stirred him to make this great effort in vain?

From Doriskus, after a month occupied in the muster there and previously in the passage of the Hellespont and the march from thence, Xerxes continued to advance through the rest of Thrace, through Macedonia, and through Thessaly. His further progress by land and sea was opposed by a Greek fleet off Artemisium in Eubœa and by a small Greek army in the pass of Thermopylæ, while the Olympic games were going on in Elis. These quinquennial games began at the full moon next after the summer solstice, and marked the year and the lunation with which a fresh cycle of four natural years commenced.[q] Having forced the pass between mountains and the sea-coast, but with full proof of the obstinate courage and the discipline against which it had to contend, the army of Xerxes overspread the country on the south side as far as the territory of Megara and the Isthmus of Corinth. When it reached Athens, three months had elapsed since it left the neighbourhood of the Hellespont after the muster and review at Doriskus. Besides the month spent about the Hellespont and Doriskus, if we would compute the whole time consumed from the date of the departure from Sardis, in early spring, to the arrival

p Ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ, καὶ οὔνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; Καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.

Herod. vii. 56; Compare Daniel xi. 32.

q See Herod. vii. 206, viii. 26, 72 (quoted by Clinton under B. C. 480) for the more particular date, and Herod. viii. 12, for the date of "about midsummer." For the commencement of the Olympic year, see *Art de vérifier les dates (après J. C.)* Ed. 1818, Tome i. p. 4. On Herod. vii. 206 George Rawlinson refers to Boeckh. *ad Pind. Ol.* iii. 35.

at Athens, we must add the time occupied in the march from Sardis to the Hellespont.[r]

When of the Greek division, to which the defence of the pass called Thermopylæ had been entrusted, part had retired and part remaining had been surrounded and to the last man of them slain amidst the Persian host, the fleet of the Greeks retired from Artemisium, where it had successfully prevented the Persians from attacking the force that held Thermopylæ on the side next the sea. It took up a new position at the island of Salamis, off the ports of Athens and somewhat in advance of the main army of the Greeks which occupied the Isthmus of Corinth. Here, protecting the evacuation of Athens by its inhabitants, before the Persians arrived there by land and sea, it was reinforced by the reserve-fleet from Trœzen. Then the Persian armada, which had advanced along the coast as the fleet of the Greeks retired southward, still vastly superior in number (though besides damage in fight, it had lost 600 ships by storm and shipwreck) reached the Athenian harbour of Phalerum, opposite Salamis, six days after the Persian army had won Thermopylæ. By land, Xerxes appears to have already arrived with his army and to have already taken the acropolis of Athens, in which a handful of the population persisted to remain.[s] Two days afterwards was fought between his fleet and that of the Greeks the decisive battle which has made Salamis an ever-memorable name.[t] After its terrible defeat, the remainder of his navy, more numerous even now than the fleet with which the Greeks could have fought again, was ordered back to the Hellespont. Herodotus intimates his belief that it sailed from Phalerum that very night. To us this is scarcely credible.

Declining to invade the Peloponnesus by way of the Isthmus, which was occupied by the Greek army, since now he was unable to threaten that army with his fleet

[r] Herod. viii. 51, vii. 37.

[s] Herod. viii. 66, 67.

[t] Herod. viii. 70–83. That the Persian fleet sailed for the Hellespont on the very next night after its defeat, seems inconsistent with the expression wherewith Herodotus dates Mardonius's advice to Xerxes, "He said one day to the king;" Herod. viii. 100.

in their rear, Xerxes a few days after the sailing of his fleet, drew back his forces into Bœotia, and thence into Thessaly.

Autumn was at hand;[u] and further operations against southern Greece were given up for this year. Mardonius, therefore, with 300,000 men was left in Thessaly to resume the war in the spring, while Xerxes, setting off with all speed for the Hellespont, reached it in forty-five days, but found his bridges broken, and brought away nothing (so to say) of his army. Hunger, pestilence, dysentery, and fatigue, to which causes we may be permitted to add the rage and the greed of the populations through which they passed, particularly in Thrace, had destroyed the greater part. Many had been left to live or die as they might, at the posts where Persian garrisons were maintained on the line of march. Those who reached the Hellespont, were further reduced in number there, by immoderate use of the greater abundance of food and by change of water,[v] but the survivors accompanied Xerxes to Sardis.[w] Here the king spent the ensuing months of winter, spring, and summer; and here he was still staying[x] when his army, under Mardonius which had wintered in Thessaly[y] and his fleet, which (after transporting him across the Hellespont) had wintered chiefly at Cumé on the Æolian coast, but partly at Samos,[z] were destroyed in one day, as it is said, by the two defeats at Platæa in Bœotia and at Mycalé on the Ionian coast opposite to Samos. At Platæa, with the exception of Artabazus's division, the whole army of Mardonius was cut to pieces. The fleet, on the approach of the Greeks, had been withdrawn from Samos where it numbered 300 ships, the

[u] Intimated Herod. viii. 113; also by the seed-time mentioned viii. 109. Of the siege of Sestos at this time the next year, he says, ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο. ix. 117. Geo. Syncellus makes this season begin on the Julian 23rd of September; Dind. ed. tom. i. p. 12.

[v] Hindus now attribute disease greatly to water, and change of water.

[w] Herod. viii. 113–117.

[x] Herod. ix. 3, 107.

[y] Herod. viii. 126, 133.

[z] Herod. viii. 130.

Phœnician portion of it had been permitted to go home, and the remainder had been hauled up on the beach at Mycalé. It was there surrounded with hasty fortifications and these were manned by numerous land forces, but it was stormed and burnt. [a] This double catastrophe is said to have happened seventeen days less than twelve months lunar (or than thirteen months if it happened to be that third year in which the Greeks intercalated a moon [b]) after the battle of Salamis, the signal for the personal retreat of Xerxes from Athens to Sardis. Plutarch dates the battle of Salamis on about the 20th day of the month Boedromion, and the two battles, at Platæa and at Mycalé, both of them on the third day of Boedromion.[c] This was the third month of the Athenian year, which, as it has been observed, began about midsummer. Then Xerxes left Sardis. If he wintered not at Babylon, as we are led by Ktesias to believe,[d] but at Susa, he may perhaps have reached Susa and "abandoned himself there to the pleasures of his harem" before the Mosaic month Tebeth next ensuing. But this month, which then corresponded nearly with the Thoth of the Egyptians, would be the commencement of his eighth year by the Egyptian reckoning. It was the previous Tebeth which followed next after the battle of Salamis and which he spent at Sardis, that was the Tebeth of his seventh year, identified by Eichhorn with the Tebeth of the seventh year of Ahasuerus, wherein he married Esther at Susa.

But our opponents in reply, may fairly betake them to the Jewish reckoning of Persian regnal years; they may now bid us shew, that the Tebeth of the seventh year of Xerxes, by the Jewish reckoning, is not identical with the Tebeth of the seventh year of Esther's Ahasuerus,—for

[a] Herod. ix. 96–106, 58–70. [b] Herod. ii. 4.

[c] Vit. Camill. § 19. Aristid. § 19. It seems they fought at Marathon on the 6th. Correct, then, my note above, p. 110.

[d] In the return of Xerxes, Photius's epitome of Ktesias mentions the journey from Athens to Sardis, § 27 and afterwards, from Babylon εἰς Πέρσας § 28.

we have already admitted, that, though the Jewish and the Egyptian methods of recording the Persian regnal years, were based on the same principle, the results were different, because their respective New-year's days did not coincide. Suppose, however, that we bid our challengers prove the affirmative, on which they build so much. We might safely do so, if we desired a drawn game. But we are bent on leaving no plea or excuse for believing that Xerxes is Esther's Ahasuerus, and therefore we apply ourselves to the enquiry, At what date in the reign of Xerxes, by Jewish reckoning, did that monarch, on the final defeat of his fleet and army by the Greeks in B. C. 479. return from Sardis to the central provinces, whether to Susa or to Babylon?

We are ignorant of the time of year in which Darius died and Xerxes succeeded to his throne, though Ptolemy's canon enables us to say that the event took place in the year N. E. 263, that is, the Egyptian year which extended from 22 Dec. 486 to 22 Dec. 485 B. C. and which was ascribed as a first year to Xerxes. However, it is certain that Darius died *either* before *or* after the Jewish New-year's-day, the first of Nisan in that year; or say, either before or after the spring equinox in B. C. 485. If he died earlier, then the second and subsequent regnal years of his successor by Jewish reckoning will commence nine months earlier than the years of corresponding number by the Egyptian account. On this hypothesis therefore, that is, if it be supposed that the father of Xerxes dying in B. C. 485, died moreover before the month Nisan in that Julian year—our opponents, as we observed before, may perhaps justify their presumed synchronism between the council, on the one hand, in which (according to Herodotus) Xerxes proposed the expedition against Athens, and, on the other hand, the entertainments given by Ahasuerus at Susa in the third year of his reign, according to the author of Esther. For, what Herodotus seems to date in the second year of Xerxes, that is, (if he meant the second regnal year ascribed to Xerxes by an Egyptian register agreeing with

Ptolemy's Canon) in B. C. 484 at about spring,[e] would (if it happened after the first of Nisan) be in the third year according to the Jews.

[e] We have intimated in a former note the belief, on after-thoughts, that Herodotus's second regnal year of Xerxes meant the second *Olympic* year in which Xerxes was seated on the throne, being the year which began at mid-summer B. C. 485; also, that the recovery of Egypt in that second regnal year was accomplished after the subsidence of the Nile-flood in B. C. 485. If such was Herodotus's meaning, because in his count of the years from Marathon to Salamis he was following a Greek and not an Egyptian register or reckoning, it would be impossible to reconcile Herodotus's date of the council in which Xerxes proposed the invasion of Greece, with the Hebrew author's date for Ahasuerus's feasts at Susa. But it may be well to subjoin to this admission, which does not affect our argument, a brief account of what will be again discussed hereafter, how it appears that Herodotus, in the entire lengths of reign which he assigns to the Persian kings who followed Cyrus, uses Egyptian years like the years of Ptolemy's Canon or rather repeats what he learned in Egypt. The fact appears from his dividing the reign of the Magian Usurper between Cambyses who preceded and Darius who followed him; giving seven months to Cambyses and one to Darius. This is in fact giving to Darius so much of the Magian's reign as had elapsed, when he was slain by Darius, since the New-year's-day then last past; and allotting to the eighth year of Cambyses (which had begun at the New-year's-day preceding this) the months of that year during which, both before and after the death of Cambyses, the Magian had usurped the throne. By so doing, Herodotus makes Darius's reign to commence as if the reign of Cambyses had been prolonged to the time of Darius's accession. The Canon does the same and may be presumed to embody the very Egyptian authority which Herodotus followed. Apparently, the Persian year when the nation succeeded to the supremacy of Assyria, Babylon, Media (like the year of the Egyptians who had at times bowed to the kings of Assyria, and to the kings of Babylon as well as to the Persians and Medes) consisted of twelve months of thirty days apiece with five supplementary days after all. See Herod. ii. 4 and the Egyptologists. Such a year Josephus believed to be antediluvian, (see his Antiq. i. 3. § 3); and, since it was certainly in use in the days of Moses, and Moses believed (it is evident) the years of Egypt in his time to be the years of Noah and the ancestors of Noah, we must follow Josephus, or rather Moses. Such a year is still that of the modern Persians and modern Armenians. The method of adjusting this calendar year to the natural circle of the seasons, or to the revolution of the earth around the sun, by intercalating one day in four years—a method which is practised in the series of years of the Julian Period—

But this hypothesis as to the season of the year at which Darius died, favourable as it is in the former instance, destroys the semblance of synchronism between the return of Xerxes from Sardis to Susa (as rather than to Babylon, for argument's sake we will express it) and the marriage of Esther's Ahasuerus. For if the second year of Xerxes began on the first of Nisan B. C. 485, his seventh began on the first of Nisan B. C. 480: that is, at about the season when he set forth from Sardis for his campaign beyond Macedonia. Wherefore also, on the same hypothesis, the Tebeth of that his seventh year by Jewish reckoning would be the same Tebeth as that which commenced his seventh year by the Egyptian computation of Ptolemy's

so far as it is used in Armenian and in Persian reckoning, is, more or less, a modern introduction. Previously (as in the present secular or civil calendar of the Armenians) the years, like those of Egyptian annals and of Ptolemy's Canon, were "vague," not fixed to the natural circle of the seasons, but consisting of 365 days without any periodical intercalation. The years from Nabonassar to Alexander the Great at Babylon, forming the first period in Ptolemy's Canon, commence with the first day of the first Egyptian month named Thoth of the first calendar year assigned to Nabonassar, being, as it is calculated, Wednesday 26th Feb. in the 3967th year of the Julian period, that is, B. C. 747.

When the Persian æra of *Yezdezird* commenced, namely at the accession of that king (or, *query*, at the New-year's-day preceding his accession) the 16th of June A. D. 632, no change took place in the length or formation of the year. So, too, on Tuesday July the 9th A. D. 552, when the Armenian council of Tiben confirmed the condemnation of the Catholic council of Chalcedon, and when their new æra commenced, the old secular and Christian years remained without change. For it does not appear that the intercalation of a sixth *epagomenê* or supplementary day in every fourth year (a method adopted at Alexandria, from the first to fix their "vague" Egyptian year like the Julian or reformed Roman year) was a practice then first introduced for ecclesiastical purposes. See Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology of History; and, for the two calendars of Parsis in India, *The Bombay Almanac*. According to Nicolas, the Persians (*query* Musulmans for secular purposes) subjoin the five supplementary days to the end of the eighth month, but the Parsis of India, who as fire-worshippers better represent the ancient Persians, add them as the Armenians do, to the twelfth month of the year after the manner of the ancient Egyptians.

Canon, that is to say, the Tebeth which ensued next after his reaching Sardis late in the autumn of B. C. 480. This Tebeth would be the tenth month of his seventh regnal year, by the Jewish account, but the first month of the seventh regnal year by the Egyptian calculation according to which his first regnal year ended about the 22nd of December B. C. 485.

However, our supposed opponents will now certainly claim the other hypothesis, as to the date of Darius's death, that since the first will not serve, they may build their synchronism upon that. They must, indeed, give up the relative synchronism between Xerxes' council and Ahasuerus's entertainments in his third year at Susa. But by sacrificing this slight sign of identity between the proceedings of Xerxes and those of Ahasuerus, they do not give up the identity of the kings themselves; whereas if Xerxes was not at Susa in the month Tebeth of the seventh year of his reign by Jewish reckoning, any more than at the same season of his seventh year by the Egyptian reckoning of Ptolemy's Table of Reigns,—why then, Esther's Ahasuerus was certainly not Xerxes.

To please them, then, let us suppose that the time of year at which Darius died in B. C. 485 was *after* the first of Nisan in that year. The seventh year of his successor will now, by Jewish reckoning, commence on the first day of Nisan B. C. 479, three months later than the seventh year by Egyptian registration. On this first of Nisan, Xerxes was at Sardis waiting for the result of the campaign about to be commenced by Mardonius. Four or five months afterwards, when the double destruction of his army and his fleet crushed all his hopes, making a further stay at Sardis useless, nay (if not dangerous) humiliating, the king left that capital of the old Lydian kings, as we have seen; and, (if it was to Susa not Babylon that he returned immediately) at Susa he may have passed the tenth month of his seventh regnal year by the Jewish calendar, that is, the month Tebeth, which at that time must have corresponded nearly with the first month of his

eighth regnal year, the month Thoth by the Egyptian registration of such years.

Thus, the sum of the chronological argument, founded on the acts of Ahasuerus in the third and seventh years of his reign, is this. By Herodotus's account, the king did not hold the council about Greece in his third year but in his second. Moreover, during the Jewish month Tebeth (i. e. January nearly) of his seventh year according to Herodotus, he was not at Susa but at Sardis, waiting for the event of the war in Greece. Thus, whether we look at the Herodotean or the Egyptian reckoning of his regnal years, Xerxes seems to have nothing to do with the acts of Ahasuerus. But, because it may fairly be objected, that the regnal years of Ahasuerus were reckoned not from the commencement of the Egyptian year (which at that time was at about 22 December and at about the beginning of the Jewish tenth month Tebeth) nor yet from the beginning of the Greek year at midsummer, but from the first day of Nisan, the first month of the Mosaic calendar; we have gone on to argue thus—Darius died and Xerxes succeeded in E. N. 263 (the 365 days from 22 Dec. B. C. 486 to 21 Dec B. C. 485) either before or after the first of Nisan in that year, which was also the first of Nisan in B. C. 485. If *before*, then the council wherein, (according to Herodotus) Xerxes discussed the invasion of Greece after he had reconquered Egypt in the second year of his reign, that is (by the Egyptian reckoning exhibited in Ptolemy's Canon) in E. N. 264 or B. C. 484 (nearly) may have been held in the third year of Xerxes by Jewish computation, and may be supposed to have coincided with some part of Ahasuerus's proceedings at Susa in the third year of his reign. But in that case, the whole seventh year of Xerxes by Jewish reckoning,—the year from the first of Nisan B. C. 480 to the last day of Adar B. C. 479 will have been spent partly on his march to Athens, partly on his return thence to Sardis, partly in Sardis or the neighbourhood where he passed the following winter. We are, therefore, debarred from concluding that he

married Esther in the January of that winter at Susa, even if we allow ourselves to suppose that Esther might have spent the preceding year there by his order in preparation for his bed.

But if Darius died and Xerxes succeeded in B. C. 485, *after* the first of Nisan, then (by Jewish reckoning, no less than by that which results from interpreting Herodotus's second year of Xerxes to be the second year by the Egyptian reckoning of Ptolemy's Canon) the council on the war with Greece must have been held in the second regnal year of Xerxes, and can have no connection with Ahasuerus's assemblies at Susa in the third year of his reign. But in this case, the Jewish tenth month Tebeth of the seventh year of his reign, as reckoned by the Jews, might conceivably have been spent by him at Susa; for he left Sardis in the autumn of B. C. 479 after the defeats at Platæa and Mycalé.

So, by help of one doubtful hypothesis as to the time of year when Darius died and Xerxes succeeded to the throne, in B. C. 485, and of another, that it was not to Babylon but to Susa that Xerxes returned from Sardis; also, with the loss of Eichhorn's first synchronism, we have now brought Xerxes, but by hasty marching, to Susa, where he may have "abandoned himself to the pleasures of the harem," in the month Tebeth of his seventh regnal year as reckoned by the Jews. Now, will this date of the commencement of the harem-life of Xerxes, through its correspondence with the date of Esther's marriage to Ahasuerus, prove, or make it in the smallest degree probable, that the reigns in which these two dates occur, were identical, or that Xerxes is Ahasuerus? Will it, after all, warrant any reasonable suspicion, that the Tebeth next after the date of the fight at Platæa was the Tebeth in which Ahasuerus married Esther? Certainly not.

The book "Esther" informs us that Ahasuerus consented to adopt a measure for replacing the queen whom he had deprived of her crown and whom he was pledged by his unchangeable word—the law of the Persians

and Medes—never more to admit into his presence, a considerable time before he fixed upon Esther, certainly more than a year. For, since of the maidens who, according to the measure suggested by the king's servants, had been selected for their beauty and accomplishments in various parts of the empire, and had been assembled at Susa that the king might choose a new queen among them, each went through a twelve months' preparation before she saw the king, and they were presented singly on different days, Esther must have entered on her preparation not later than Tebeth in the sixth year of Ahasuerus's reign, that is, the Tebeth after the battle of Salamis, if she be supposed to have married Xerxes in the Tebeth next after the battles of Platæa and Mycalè. Let those, then, who would identify Ahasuerus her husband with Xerxes, observe the questions which arise.

Were the orders to assemble the maidens at Susa sent from Athens about the time of the sea-fight? No. When Xerxes reached Athens it would be too late. Were they, then, sent from Sardis after the arrival of Xerxes from Kritalla at the Lydian capital, and before he marched with his whole army thence in the previous spring? If such a question can possibly be put in a serious manner, as it must be by one who refuses to abandon the theory that it was Xerxes in the Tebeth after the battles of Platæa and Mycalè who married Esther, as related in the Hebrew book which bears her name,—why, then, we answer seriously, That Xerxes on the eve of his march from Sardis to the Hellespont or during the previous winter in that capital or on his march thither from Kritalla, or before, was thinking of something else. Even if there had been no queen Amestris in the way, while such matters were proceeding and Xerxes was so actively employed, his servants would have had no room for suggesting that a levy of maidens should be made for the king at Susa. Beautiful Ionian captives from the old country of the Ionians and its capital Athens, or Dorian girls from Sparta, or even beauties of Italy and Sicily would be among the spoils of the approaching expedition. Certainly, then,

the measure adopted by Ahasuerus in the sixth year of his reign, indicates any thing rather than his identity with Xerxes, or the identity of the Tebeth in which he first saw Esther, with the Tebeth next after the battles of Platæa and Mycalè.

IV.

But Amestris the queen of Xerxes, described by both Herodotus and Ktesias, is the insurmountable obstacle to every attempt at identifying Xerxes with the husband of Vashti and of Esther. Amestris cannot be Esther, cannot be Vashti, cannot have been another wife of Ahasuerus's[a] at the time of Vashti's divorce or Esther's marriage. She is too clearly the queen or chief wife of Xerxes, according to Herodotus and Ktesias (who neither of them, indeed, know any other wife of the king's) to be second to Vashti; for Vashti is represented in the most express language as wife and queen, as having a royal estate, as honoured with the crown royal, and as presiding over all the women at an entertainment within doors of Ahasuerus's house-royal, while the king himself, in the court of the garden of his palace, presided at a feast which he gave to the people or host assembled at Susa, both great and small. Nor can it be supposed that Amestris, having succeeded to the place and dignity of Vashti, the king afterwards took Esther as an inferior wife; for Esther is expressly represented to have been made queen instead of Vashti

[a] The superiority of a wife to a concubine may appear by what in the time of Artaxerxes son of Xerxes Herodotus writes respecting the superiority of the son of the wife to the son of the concubine; for by bastard he means son of a concubine, Herod. iii. 2. The king, however, like many other Persians, had, besides concubines, more than one wife, see Herod. i. 135. But it is plain, from the account of Vashti and Esther in the book Esther, and from that of Atossa and Amestris in Herodotus, that there was but one *chief wife*, who we may suppose could not be dispossessed of that dignity while she remained a wife. Perhaps, polygamy was one of the many foreign customs which the Persians adopted after obtaining the supremacy in Asia.

and to have received the royal crown. Therefore, as Amestris is plainly no inferior wife, if she be not either Vashti or Esther, she is no wife of Ahasuerus, and her husband Xerxes is not Esther's husband.

Is she Esther, then, or is she Vashti? We will show that she cannot be either. Ktesias may be believed when, contradicting nobody, he writes of matters the importance of which was remembered at court at the time when he used to gossip there. Eunuchs appear to have been the class with which the doctor was most intimate. He told the people in Greece when he returned, in his story of Persia which Photius has partially preserved to us by epitomizing it, that Xerxes married Onophas's daughter Amestris and had a son born to him Dariaios, or, as the Greeks usually expressed the name, Dareios.

Two years later, he had another son by her, Hystaspes, and again, Artaxerxes, the same (let us add) whose name before he attained the regal dignity according to Josephus was Κῦρος (Cyrus) and whom the Greeks distinguished by an epithet of perhaps a figurative meaning μακρόχειρ or "Long-armed."

Besides these sons of Xerxes by Amestris, he had daughters also; one of whom was named Amytis after her grandmother, or rather her father's grandmother and the other Rhodogunê. By the person after whom Amytis, daughter of Xerxes was named, we are to understand, unquestionably, one of whom (as we have seen) Ktesias had already written much,—his Amytis, daughter (or rather grand-daughter) of Astyages the Mede, wife of the great Cyrus and mother of both Cambyses and his brother. Now, the mother of Cambyses (whether Amytis, or, as Herodotus's informants affirmed, Cassandanê daughter of Pharnaspes the Akhæmenian) would be naturally regarded as the grandmother of Xerxes by all who (like Herodotus) took Atossa the mother of Xerxes and the queen of Darius, to be in the proper sense of the term a daughter of Cyrus.

And when in Photius's abstract of Ktesias's story we find no mention of Atossa, we may believe that the doctor did not contradict Herodotus in any particular about a

personage whom Æschylus had brought upon the Athenian stage. Lastly, the fact that Plutarch gives the same account of her as Herodotus, may be held to be a sign that Ktesias did no less. Nor is it surprising that Ktesias should next make Atossa's supposed mother Amytis to be grandmother instead of great-grandmother to the daughter of Xerxes, though, may be, it really was of Xerxes not of Xerxes' daughter that he called the elder Amytis the grandmother. By a like mistake, he makes the elder Amytis wife of Cyrus, to be daughter instead of grand-daughter to Astyages the Mede, and in his list of the six who helped Darius to slay the Magian, he names sons instead of the fathers who were the true actors; nay, in this very account which we have been citing from him, of the wife and children of Xerxes, there is good reason for accusing him of having foisted the brother of Amestris into the place of her father; since while he names her father Onophas and also names the first of the six who helped Darius against the Magian usurper, Onophas, Herodotus describes both Amestris and Onophas as children of Otanes, and Otanes (who is one of the six in the Behistun Inscription) he puts first of Darius's comrades in the enterprise against the Magian. We shall see hereafter that, by a like habit of confusion, Ktesias ascribes to Xerxes a capture of Babylon, which was his father's, and to Megabyzus, a part in the capture, which belonged in reality to Zopyrus the father of Megabyzus.

So much for Ktesias's account of the wife and children of Xerxes. From Herodotus, who might have been Ktesias's grandfather in point of age, being a contemporary of the children of Xerxes, we learn that at the same date in the reign of Xerxes at which, in Ahasuerus's reign according to the canonical Hebrew writer of her story, Esther became his queen in place of Vashti, that is to say, in the seventh regnal year, Darius, the eldest son of Xerxes by Amestris, was old enough to have a wife given or at least betrothed to him—a wife who was probably younger than himself, namely his cousin the daughter of Masistes younger brother of Xerxes; the Artaynta, who after her

marriage yielded to the incestuous advances of her husband's father.[b] Therefore, even if Xerxes were Esther's Ahasuerus, Esther cannot be Amestris; and this is admitted by such as, (like Geo. Rawlinson) accept the opinion Milman has embraced, without that part of it which refers to Esther. For if Xerxes be Ahasuerus, he married the maiden Esther in his seventh year when his eldest son by Amestris had Artaynta given him to wife. If the names of Esther and Amestris were as like as, to us, they appear dissimilar, under these circumstances likeness or even sameness of name would be of no weight towards identifying the persons. Altogether, we are entitled on the authority of Herodotus to affirm more than, what we have already been able to conclude, that Esther cannot be Amestris. We may reply to those who on the strength of that impossible identity would make Xerxes and Esther's Ahasuerus to be the same person, that if Amestris was chief wife of Xerxes in the seventh year of his reign, and had been such for so long a time as is indicated by the age of his son Darius at that epoch, then Xerxes cannot be Ahasuerus, who, having been for four years divorced from his queen Vashti, took the maiden Esther to his bed and crowned her his queen in the seventh year of his reign.

Now if this be so, it is needless to show that Amestris cannot be Vashti; but we are pledged to do it. If, then, Amestris be Vashti, she had been divorced by her husband or at least she had been excluded for ever from his presence and deprived of the crown of queen, in the third year of his

[b] See Herod. ix. 108. For Amestris as daughter of Otanes and for Onophas or Anaphes as son of Otanes, see Herod. vii. 61, 62, (For Cassandané as wife of Cyrus and mother of Cambyses, see Herod. ii. 1. and iii. 2.) As to the family of Otanes, Herodotus mentions also Patiramphes son of Otanes as the charioteer of Xerxes on the occasion of the pompous march out of Sardis for the Hellespont; Herod. vii. 40. We may note it by the way, that the great eminence which Herodotus ascribes to the family of Otanes may have originated, not in any really superior share which Otanes had taken in overthrowing the Magian king, but in the further rank and credit which accrued to the family towards the end of Darius's reign by the marriage of their daughter Amestris to Darius's eldest son by Atossa, his successor Xerxes.

reign. In his sixth year, she had been recalled to his mind, and apparently he regretted her; but, since what had been done could not be undone, since his word had been spoken and was become an unchangeable law by which he and all were bound alike, he consented to replace her. Accordingly, in the seventh year of his reign he did replace her, in the Jewish month Tebeth, that is, (if we believe those who would identify the husband of Amestris with the husband of Vashti) during the winter which followed the battles of Platæa and Mycalè after the king's return home, that is, to Susa (as Herodotus supposed [c]) not to Babylon where (on an occasion which could not have been more pressing than after the drain upon his treasury, of the unsuccessful expedition into Europe,) he once plundered Bel-Merodakh's temple of a great golden image. All this is contradicted by what Herodotus and Ktesias have transmitted of Amestris. Amestris had not been for the last four years banished from the presence of Xerxes when that king at Sardis, waiting for the event of the second campaign in Greece and having conceived a passion for the wife of his brother Masistes, to overcome her repugnance, betrothed Darius his eldest son by Amestris to her daughter Artaynta. Amestris was not deprived of her diadem afterwards at Susa nor had a daughter of Israel succeeded to her place, when (as Herodotus tells the story) the king, having received Artaynta as his son's wife into his palace, speedily lost his love for the mother and began to intrigue successfully with the daughter. On

[c] That Xerxes returned from Sardis to Susa, is intimated in Herod. ix. 108. That he took a golden image twelve cubits high out of the temple of Belus at Babylon and slew a priest who forbade him, appears from Herod. i. 183. We believe that Ktesias has confounded Xerxes with Darius his father, in his account of the revolt of Babylon, Persic. § 22. That the image of gold was seized by Xerxes after his return from Greece, may appear from Arrian vii. 17, with Strabo xvi. p. 1049, referred to by George Rawlinson. The only home at which Herodotus supposes a Persian king to reside, is Susa in the Kissian country. But we may follow Xenophon, so far as to believe that Babylon was often preferred, especially during winter, and that Agbatana was often the Great-King's abode in the hottest part of the year.

the contrary, we find that, all this while, Amestris had the power and the rights of his queen, so that having detected her husband's intimacy with Artaynta, and having ensnared him into the promise that he would grant her anything she should ask, she was able to perpetrate a most horrible revenge upon the wife of Masistes, and to be the cause of the destruction of Masistes himself with all his family. Amestris, therefore, the chief wife of Xerxes, is no more Vashti, the queen who was banished for ever from her husband's presence in the third year of his reign, than she is the Jewess who in his seventh year became his queen in Vashti's stead. If so, once more we have proved it, that Xerxes cannot possibly be the Ahasuerus of the book Esther.

CHAPTER VII.

I.

HERE let us pause while, in this chapter, (to shew what a gratuitous libel it was to identify Esther with Amestris) we gather into a single view all that the advocates of the identity know of Amestris, the features so like to those of Esther. First, the parentage of the two is different. The one is an orphan Jewess; the other is a daughter of one of those Persian nobles who helped Darius to slay the Magian. She is daughter of that Otanes who commanded the expedition to put Syloson in possession of Samos, and who, being apparently (like Hystaspes at the time of the death of Cambyses) the king's lieutenant in Fars, the country of his ancestors, took part (according to Herodotus) as leader of the Persian contingent, in that expedition against Greece, in the course of which the young prince his daughter's eldest son was betrothed to the daughter of the king's brother Masistes. But then, say they, the names Amestris and Esther are much the same! It is the proverbial likeness, slight in sound and nought in substance, between chalk and cheese. The substantial difference, however, they deny. They grieve over the sons of Haman; they deplore the second blow which secured the safety of the Jews in Susa; and, since it was through Esther that the advantage was obtained, they see the character of Amestris in that of the maiden who was chosen

by the God of Israel to become the Great-King's crowned wife, and in due time, by the ascendancy of a wife and queen, to defeat a scheme whereby the ancestors of the king's most trusted minister, the Amalekites of the olden time of Saul king of Israel, were on the point of being avenged: for it was a measure by which all Jews, that is, all children of Israel, known as such by their obedience to the law of Moses, they and their proselytes, were to be exterminated wherever they were scattered throughout the provinces of the wide Persian empire.

Let us, then, collect what is known of Amestris, not excluding but beginning with the story we have already touched upon. In the seventh regnal year of Xerxes, she was possibly not more than thirty years of age while, considering the length of his father's reign, with the date in it at which (according to our conclusions) Xerxes was born at the earliest—we may say, that this eldest son of his mother, this husband of Amestris, was not more than (36—8 + 7=) 35 years old, and we may believe, that Darius his eldest son by Amestris was not less than fifteen years of age. At this time Mardonius was carrying on the king's enterprise in Greece, and Xerxes was waiting the issue at Sardis, accompanied probably by Amestris; certainly, his brother Masistes's wife had accompanied her husband to the war according to the Persian custom, and was residing at Sardis also; though Masistes, sometimes at least, was absent on the king's business, for he was present when the forces of Xerxes were defeated at Mycalè. Xerxes and Masistes being brothers, each may occasionally have accompanied the other to his wife's apartment, or the wife of the one brother might meet the other while visiting his wife. Whatever had been his opportunities of seeing her, Xerxes conceived a passion for the wife of Masistes. As she resisted his proposals, he to gain upon her proceeded to make choice of a daughter that she had, to be his son Darius's wife. Both the daughter and the son may have been left at home, but the betrothal it is related took place at Sardis. On the return of all, after the miscarriage of the king's attempt to enlarge his dominion in the west,

the daughter of Masistes, according to the contract already made, entered the king's house as his son Darius's wife; whereupon (how soon we cannot say) the king's passion for the mother changed into love for the daughter, Artaynta, and she yielded to his desires. After a time, the criminal conduct of Xerxes was discovered thus. The queen Amestris had woven (as Herodotus tells the story) a magnificent piece of work:—though if we believe a tale of Quintus Curtius's about the captive mother and daughter of the last Great-King descended from Xerxes, in the camp of the Macedonian Alexander, we must think him mistaken as to the person of the work-woman. But whether it was her own work, whether it was a purchase, or whether it was produced in her apartments by the hands of her women, it was a shawl or a mantle, φᾶρος, large and many-coloured, most rare to see; and she gave it to her lord. Vain of his new dress, the king wore it (according to the story) on a visit to Artaynta, and was so transported at his reception that he bade his mistress ask what she would and it should be her's. Then she, that the evil destiny of her family might be fulfilled, seemed to doubt his word: whereupon he reiterated his promise with an oath. Immediately, Artaynta, who perhaps desired to vex the queen, asked for the mantle, and with womanlike obstinacy and disregard of consequences would take nothing else, though (fearing that it might lead to a discovery of his intrigue by Amestris who had already an inkling of what was going on between her husband and her son's wife) Xerxes offered her instead, cities, or gold, or an army which should obey no orders but her own. Thus, was the queen's present transferred from her husband to the shoulders of her rival. The fact came speedily to the knowledge of Amestris. Alone or as a clue, it served to assure her of the wrong which both she and her son Darius had sustained, and she determined upon revenge. The course she took seems singular, and may suggest the suspicion that Herodotus's version of the matter is incomplete. She resolved to punish not Artaynta but Artaynta's mother, the wife of Masistes; for it was the mother who had first attracted Xerxes, and

it was the mother whom (according to Herodotus) she regarded as in the present matter more guilty than the daughter. She waited for the king's birth-day, a day which the Persians celebrated with the greatest festivity.[a] Every year (by a custom still observed in the time of Herodotus) a royal supper was laid out on this day (ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς) the Persian name of which, Tukta, signified "perfect.[b]" At this supper, says Herodotus, the king makes presents to the Persians, and then only the king applies soap to his head.[c] Having now her opportunity, Amestris made request of the king with a purpose similar to that of the mother of Cambyses when (if Ktesias tells true) she asked for the author of the death of Smerdis. The request of Amestris was, that the wife of Masistes

[a] See Herod. i. 133. We are reminded of Herod Antipas on his birth-day giving to Herodias's daughter the head of the Prophet-baptizer John. According to Hyde, *De Relig. Vet. Pers.* p. 368, in the month *Isfendarmad* which (though Hyde does not) we believe to have been, under this or another name, the last month of the old Magian year, (both the fixed agricultural and the more or less vague religious year) as it is now of the Calendar for secular purposes in Mahommedan Persia, there was a Magian festival called *Mardghiran*, or "Man-catching," during the last five days, or on the last day only; for authorities differ as to this point. On this occasion, not only might girls choose husbands, but wives might ask and have what they liked of their husbands; being absolute in theory on that day, no less probably than in practice often on other days. If the old Persian word *tukta* signified "finished," "brought to an end," the occasion might be referred to the time of year when the *Mardghiran* was celebrated. But if the feast Herodotus speaks of, closed the year, it could not but by accident, unless conventionally, be the king's birth-day. It would be the day before New-year's-day; and this has been considered in Persia, the birth-day of the human race, the anniversary of Adam's creation: the five supplementary days which closed the old year, being commemorative of the five days of creation which preceded the creation of man. Georgius Syncellus, following Jewish and Christian doctors, makes the first day of creation to have been Sunday the first of Nisan, equivalent to the Roman 25th of March. Hence the creation of man is placed by him on the 6th of Nisan.

[b] Gr. τέλειον: *Query* τετελεσμένον.

[c] Gr. τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται. Apparently, an act of religious purification. In Herod. iv. 73 we have an account of the manner in which after a funeral the Scythians purified themselves. The first thing was σμήσασθαι καὶ ἐκπλύνασθαι τὰς κεφαλάς, the last, a vapour bath.

should be given to her. Well knowing what it would be her will to do with the object of her desire when it should be made her own, Xerxes was shocked, both because it was said he knew the lady whose life he was to give away to be innocent of any complicity in his intrigue, and because she was his brother's wife. But, since it was the law of the royal supper that no one making a petition while that was spread should be refused, as Amestris still urged her petition, at last very unwillingly he assented. He gave up the wife of Masistes, with permission to Amestris to do what she would with her. Then, having summoned his brother, he tried to persuade him to divorce his wife and marry a daughter of his own in place of her. Masistes refused. Meanwhile, Amestris sent for the king's guards, and disfigured the wife of Masistes with a mutilation most horrible, yet such as was commonly used in the punishment of felons and traitors.[d] She cut off the lady's breasts and threw them to dogs, with her nose, and her ears, and her lips. After all, she cut out her tongue and, thus mangled, sent her home. Presently, Masistes, who had left the king in displeasure, and was returning with a mind full of misgivings, rushed into his house. There he beheld the condition of his wife. After brief consultation he started with his sons for Baktra, thinking at that seat of his government, to raise the Baktrians and Sakans and make war upon his brother. But on the way, overtaken by troops that Xerxes had despatched in pursuit of him, he was cut off with his children and all his party.[e]

[d] Compare the sentence on Aholibah, Ezek. xxiii. 25, and several passages in the Behistun inscription.

[e] Herod. ix. 108–113. Wesseling exclaims; "Dirum impotentis matronæ facinus! Geminum aliud, ex impiâ ejus religione susceptum, [invenitur apud] Herod. vii. 114. Et illam tamen, adeo effrœnatâ rabie inmanem, exsecrabilem, animo factisque consceleratam, doctorum haud pauci reginam Estheram esse, regis Ahasueri consortem tori, nominis quâdam adfinitate (sicut mihi videtur) delusi, censent. Istud illi viderint; eam enim in causam nunc non descendo." With the vengeance of Amestris, compare that which Pheretima the mother of Arcesilaus king of Cyréné had exercised on such of the people of Barka as were most implicated in the death of her son, on them and on their wives; Herod. iv. 202.

II.

About fifteen years after the defeat and death of Mardonius at Platæa, and the betrothal of Artaynta to the king's eldest son, Darius, at Sardis, Xerxes was murdered in his bed. By Diodorus's account, the only one in which he is mentioned at all, Hystaspes, at this time, the second son of Xerxes, was absent at Baktra where he had the satrapy. But both Diodorus and Ktesias relate that his elder brother Darius and his younger brother Artaxerxes were residing with their father in the palace. The crime which had been projected and perpetrated by Artabanus or Artapanus, captain of the guards, son of the Hyrcanian Artasyras, he and his accomplice the eunuch Aspamitres (called by Diodorus, Mithridates) laid upon Darius. They seized him immediately and led him into the apartment of his brother Artaxerxes, where, amid his vociferations and denials, he was put to death. Enough having been done for the present, Artaxerxes was placed upon the vacant throne. This drama we are entitled to fix in B. C. 464, or more strictly, at some date between 17 Dec. B. C. 465 and midsummer B. C. 464.[a]

From Photius's epitome of Ktesias's Persica we learn, that queen Amestris survived her husband. At his death

[a] Perhaps it was with a special reference to the death of Xerxes that the Persians laid down the maxim reported in the reign of Xerxes' successor Artaxerxes, by Herodotus, i. 138; that no real son ever killed his father; but the supposed son must have been either a changeling or the fruit of an adultery of his mother's. For the quality of Artapanus, see Ktesias ap. Phot. §§ 20, 9; and Diodorus, xi. 69. For the mention of Hystaspes, the passage of Diodorus is our authority. Ktesias related how, after the fall of Artapanus, king Artaxerxes was engaged in an arduous conflict with Baktra, which had revolted with its satrap, another Artapanus. Where information is scanty, one is prone to conjecture; Perhaps, the overthrow of Artapanus who slew Xerxes, and of his sons who fought with Artaxerxes afterwards, was really nothing else than the two battles fought by Artaxerxes with Artapanus and the Baktrians. The Artapanus who put Artaxerxes on the throne, it is possible, obtained the satrapy which Hystaspes the elder brother of Artaxerxes had enjoyed.

she may have been not more than forty-five years old. According to the tradition gleaned by the Cnidian physician among the women and eunuchs of her great grandson's palace, one feature of her widowhood was this—she was much addicted to men; that is to say, as queen-mother she put no more restraint on any sensual inclination than during the successive reigns of her husband and her son, she did on the appetite for revenge or on the taste for cruelty. To this latter portion of her life belong the acts of vengeance which, with one of cruel and selfish superstition, are now to be subjoined, to complete the story of her life and to suggest a conception of her character.

III.

THE murder of Xerxes and the false accusation under which his eldest son was summarily put to death, had been expiated by the guilty Artapanus and Aspamitres; the revolted Baktrians had been subdued; satraps had been removed; their seats filled by more trusty friends of the new king's; and thus, Artaxerxes was in greater security and credit, when (according to Diodorus) in the second year of the 79th Olympiad, or in the year which ended at midsummer B. C. 462, Egypt revolted. "Setting forth from Mareia, the town" (and probably the capital of the whole district) "inland of Pharos,"[a] that isle on the coast, which afterwards sheltered the harbours and bore the light-house of Alexandria, "Inarôs a Libyan, son of

[a] ἐκ Μαρείας τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου πολίως, Thucyd. i. 104. For the islet Pharos with the tower on it, also called Pharos, 150 stades west of the Canopic mouth of the Nile, see Strabo, xvii. 1 § 6; and Scylax, § 107. The quarter of Alexandria called Rhakotis, τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῶν νεωρίων, was, before the building of the city, a village where a guard was stationed by the king or Persian satrap of Egypt, to keep off all sea-borne strangers from landing upon the coast. The customs of modern China and Japan are of ancient type. The spot on which Alexandria was built by the Macedonian conqueror, was situated between two "seas" the Mediterranean, on the north, and the lake Mareia, or Mareôtis, on the south; Strabo, xvii. 1 § 7.

Psammetikhus and king of the Libyans who border upon Egypt, caused almost the whole of Egypt to revolt." So Thucydides tells us; and that we are to understand him as describing Inarôs to have been at first the deputy-king in the Libyan section of the great Egyptian satrapy, is made clear by this testimony of Herodotus, that Thannyras son of Inarôs the Libyan and Pausiris, son of Amyrtæus (whom at a subsequent date Thucydides introduces as "the king in the marshes") were each of them allowed to succeed their fathers, though no two men had ever done the Persians more hurt than Amyrtæus and Inarôs.[b] This case Herodotus adduces as one of the many which proved it to be the Persian custom to honour the sons of kings; and that Inarôs himself had been originally invested with his kingly authority by virtue of the same custom, we may infer from the name of his father Psammetikhus; for it indicates descent from that Saite dynasty which the Persians under Cambyses had ousted from the supreme sovereignty in Egypt.[c] The Libyans ruled by Inarôs, appear to have been, altogether or in part, the Adyrmakhidæ of Herodotus and of Scylax. This nation (according to Herodotus) extended westward from the border of Egypt (say the Canopic mouth of the Nile), for about 4° 46′ longitude, or by Strabo's measurement 150 + 1300 + 900 = 2350 stades of coast, as far as the bay named Plynus.[d] Near this (according to Strabo) was the Catabathmus, a ridge which, under the Romans as well as before under the Ptolemies, formed the boundary between the Egyptian Libya and the Marmaridæ, Libyans dependent upon Cyrènè.[e] Mareia, whence Inarôs started

[b] Herod. iii. 15.

[c] See above, in the Comparative Table of Descents at the end of Chap. v.

[d] Herod. iv. 168. Scylax makes Libya begin at the Canopic, the most westerly, mouth of the Nile, and his first Lybian nation is the Adyrmakhidæ, to whom he gives the isle Pharos, the lake Mareia, and the coast so far as to include Apis city which he makes the furthest part of the Egyptian empire, §§ 107, 108.

[e] Strabo, xvii. 1 §§ 13, 14, and 3 § 22. According to Scylax § 108, after Apis city, the most westerly place of the Adyrmakhidæ and of the Egyptian dominion, came the Marmaridæ, a nation to whom he

in order to wrest Egypt from the Persians, was probably his capital. From Herodotus we learn, that the city had a Libyan population, on which an ill-relished compliance with Egyptian customs was imposed. It is intimated that the city, no less than the more famous lake of the same name, was supplied with water from the Nile.[f] From the language of Thucydides it is plain, that Inarôs, till he fell into the hands of the Persians, was for six years at the head of the revolt, and Diodorus says, that the Egyptians

assigns the whole coast from Apis westward, a first day's sail, to the Tyndarian Rocks, and a second εἰς Πλύνους λιμένα, as well as, beyond this Herodotæan boundary of the Adyrmakhidæ and Strabonian landmark between the Cyrenæan Marmaridæ and Egyptian Libya, all the coast as far as εἰς Ἐσπερίδας. Instead of the Marmaridæ, Herodotus names as extending to the same point westward, the Gilligammæ, the Asbystæ, and (including the small tribe of the Cabalians) the Auskhisæ. Herod. iv. 169–171.

[f] Herod. ii. 18. Moreover, of the Adyrmakhidæ in general, Herodotus says, iv. 168, that their customs are for the most part Egyptian, but their dress Libyan. He mentions their king, saying that by a custom peculiar to them, their women that are going to be married are offered to him. That the lake Mareia was supplied by canals from the Nile, so as to be brim-full during the high Nile season, we learn from Strabo xvii. 1 § 7. Scylax, too, having noted the "many harbours in Pharos" (an island which we learn from Strabo was supplied with water by a conduit along the causeway afterwards built to it from Alexandria) adds:—

ὕδωρ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μαρείας λίμνης ὑδρεύονται· ἔστι γὰρ πότιμος.

There appears to have been a channel from the lake to the sea, which boats at least could ascend, perhaps only during the hundred days of high-Nile; for Scylax adds:—

ὁ δὲ ἀνάπλους εἰς τὴν λίμνην βραχὺς ἐκ Φάρου.

It may seem from Arrian that Alexander "the founder" at his first visit went up by this channel into the lake. As to Ammon's reply to the cities Mareia and Apis, that they were Egyptian because they drank the Nile water, Herodotus does not observe that though it might apply to Mareia, it could not apply to Apis, a place on the coast whence men went inland southward to Ammon's oracle, and 1550 stades from the Canopic mouth of the Nile. Either, then, he did not know where Apis was, or there was another Apis reached by a canal from the Nile, or rather, of the two cities, Mareia to the east and Apis to the west, representing at that time the Libyan territory subject to Egypt and inhabited by the Adyrmakhidæ, the capital was Mareia, and, therefore, its fortunes must be followed by Apis.

made him their king. He was of course followed in his enterprise by his own Libyans; perhaps, by others from more distant tribes; the Persian revenue-collectors were expelled, men were levied in Egypt and hired from abroad to resist the returning forces of Asia.[g] Before, in the reign of Xerxes, certainly from the second to the seventh year of it, Akhæmenes, brother of Xerxes and uncle of the present king, had been the satrap of Egypt.[h] But, from the accounts of Diodorus and Ktesias, it would appear that he was absent at the outbreak of the revolt; for (according to these writers) it was he who was at once commissioned by Artaxerxes to proceed with an army against the insurgents. On the other hand, Inarôs sent envoys with large promises, soliciting aid from Athens; and the Athenians, who were engaged in their war with the Persians on the coast of Cyprus, quitted that island with 200 ships of their own and of their allies, arrived upon the coast of Egypt, entered the Nile, obtained possession of the river with two-thirds of Memphis, and laid siege to the remaining division of the city, called the White Fortress, Λευκὸν Τεῖχος. It was held by the "Persians and Medes," says Thucydides, who had there taken refuge, and by Egyptians who had not joined the revolt. A battle, not mentioned by Thucydides, had been fought at Paprêmis, where the hippopotamus was sacred and a god of war was worshipped; the capital of one of the nomes, where the lands of the Egyptian warriors of the Hermotybian caste were situated;[i] the Persian army had been defeated, Akhæmenes had received a mortal wound from the hand (as Ktesias related) of Inarôs himself, but after his death his body was sent (by whom it is not said;[j] we may presume, by Inarôs) to the king his

[g] Diodor. xi. 71. [h] Herod. vii. 7, 97, 236, 237.

[i] For Herodotus's visit to the field of the battle at Paprêmis, where Akhæmenes son of Darius was defeated and slain, see Herod. iii. 12. About Paprêmis, see Herod. ii. 59, 63, 71, 165.

[j] This about the corpse of Akhæmenes (as about the hand which gave the death wound) is due to Photius's epitomé of Ktesias, who (by one of his wonted blunders) calls the Persian general, Akhæmenides brother

nephew; though the dead in general, of the victors no less than of the defeated army, were on this, as on at least one other occasion, left unburied on the field. That the Athenians had a place in the battle-line of Inarôs's army and were the principal authors of the victory, as related by Diodorus, the silence of Thucydides induces us to doubt; but this objection seems of less weight, against the statement of Ktesias, that there was an engagement between the naval forces of the satrap and of the Libyan pretender, wherein the allies of the Libyan, the Athenians under Kharitimides, were greatly distinguished, and more than half of the Satrap's fleet was taken or destroyed. The general account which Thucydides gives of the Athenian operations, might comprehend the destruction of the war-galleys which Akhæmenes had at his disposal. On these events, Artaxerxes sent an agent to Sparta with a large treasure, to induce the Lacedæmonians to invade Attica, and thus draw away the Athenians with their allies from Egypt to the defence of their own city. His money, however, was spent in vain. But he sent his sister's husband, Megabyzus son of Zopyrus, to the relief of the Persians in the White Fortress, and to the overthrow of the rebellion and its allies. With Megabyzus, who is mentioned as the sixth of the generals-in-chief during Xerxes' expedition against Greece,[k] was joined in the command (according to Diodorus) Artabazus, the same apparently who was renowned in particular for having carried off his division safe from the field of Platæa;[l] but Thucydides, Herodotus, and the epitomizer of Ktesias make mention of Megabyzus alone. The Persian general appears from Diodorus to have spent at least a year on the coasts of Cilicia and Phœnice, training his army and fitting out a great fleet in the ports of the mainland and

of king Artaxerxes and son of the queen-mother Amestris. Diodorus xi. 74, properly terms him, Akhæmenes uncle of king Artaxerxes, *i. e.* brother of Xerxes.

[k] With Herod. iii. 60 (confirmed by Thucyd. i. 109) compare Herod. vii. 82.

[l] Diodor. xi. 74–77; Herod. viii. 126; ix. 41, 66.

of Cyprus. It seems, from the same author, to have been not before the autumn of B. C. 460, or perhaps not till the spring of B. C. 459, that he set out for Egypt by land, advancing through Syria and Phœnice. On his arrival, he defeated the Egyptians and their allies in battle; the Greeks that had been besieging the White Fortress, he drove out of the parts of Memphis which they occupied; and at last shut them up in the island of the Delta called Prosopitis; which, being nine skhœnes (double parasangs by Herodotus's reckoning) in circuit, contained many cities, particularly Atarbekhis where the Egyptian goddess Athor had a temple of singular sanctity. Like Papremis where Akhæmenes had been defeated, Prosopitis was one of the six nomes whence came the caste-warriors called Hermotybians.[m] Here the Greeks were besieged by Megabyzus for a year and a half. At last, he succeeded in turning off the water from a channel where their fleet rode afloat, so that the ships were left on dry ground, most part of the isle was joined on to the mainland, and he was able to cross over with his troops on foot and take it. The Athenians and other Greeks their allies retired through Libya to Cyréné by the permission (as Diodorus relates) of Megabyzus; but few out of many reached that Greek city, or thence returned to their homes; the greatest part perished, and Egypt was again subdued to the king, except Amyrtæus the king in the marshes, whom

[m] About this river-island, see Herod. ii. 41, 165; also Strabo, xvii. 1 § 20, whose city of Aphrodité (rather, of Athor) in the Prosôpitan Nome, is the Atarbekhis of Herodotus. So the Egyptian city, called in Moses On, but by the Septuagint translator (as by Herodotus and other Greek writers) called by a Greek version of its surname, Heliopolis, is found (as Sir J. G. Wilkinson observes) to be called by the untranslated surname Rabek in Assyrian inscriptions. So, too, the Egypto-Syrian Heliopolis survives in Balbek. Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us that Prosôpitis lay between the Canopic branch of the Nile and the Thermuthiac off-set of the Sebennytic branch at the apex of the Delta. The squadron of galleys sent to relieve the Athenian fleet (or a portion of it) that guarded the isle Prosôpitis, came to the Mendesian branch, as Thucydides relates, intending to reach the Sebennytic branch by this channel. Compare Herod. ii. 17.

the Persians, owing to the extent of the marsh-land peopled by the most fighting of all the Egyptians, could not get into their power. Inarôs, the author of all that had befallen them in Egypt, was taken by treason (says Thucydides) and crucified. Moreover, fifty triremes completely manned, from Athens and other parts of the confederacy, sailing to Egypt to take their turn of service and knowing nothing of what had happened, came to land at the Mendesian "horn" of the river, were assailed by troops from the shore and by a Phœnician navy from the sea, and the most part of them were lost; the smaller remainder escaping home again. Instead of Thucydides's brief and obscure notice of the fate of Inarôs, we have the heads of an interesting detail, perhaps for the most part consistent with it, in the epitome of Ktesias's narrative. From the field on which his army had been defeated, Inarôs, wounded by Megabyzus in the thigh, escaped to a strong city named Byblus, accompanied by the Greeks who did not die with Kharitimides in the battle. The rest of Egypt having been recovered, Megabyzus, promising Inarôs and the Greeks (6000 and more in number[n]) that they should suffer no hurt from the king, and the Greeks when they pleased should return to their homes; obtained possession of their stronghold and of themselves. Then, having set up satrap of Egypt Sarsamas, he left the country with Inarôs and the Greeks, to return to the king. On their arrival, Artaxerxes was very wroth with Inarôs on account of his uncle Akhæmenes's death, but hearing how Megabyzus had gained possession of Byblus

[n] Note, that the Egyptians transported to Susa with king Amyrtæus by Cambyses son of Cyrus, were 6000 in number, according to Ktesias in Photius's abstract § 9. Now, not only was the king of Egypt conquered by Cambyses, not named Amyrtæus, for Herodotus calls him Psammenitus son of Amasis, but this captive king was not sent to Susa. He was kept with him by Cambyses for a time in Egypt, and then put to death for plotting against his new master. Ktesias's Amyrtæus and 6000 Egyptians transported to Susa, seems but another version of his Inarôs (whose revolt had been seconded apparently by Amyrtæus the [deputy] king in the marshes) carried from Egypt with 6000 Greeks to the presence of Artaxerxes; § 36.

by promises of life to Inarôs and the Greeks, and being earnestly importuned to give effect to those pledges, he allows the message to be carried forth from his presence to the army, that Inarôs and the Greeks are to suffer no harm. But the king's mother Amestris exclaimed against it as a horrible thing, that she was not to take vengeance on Inarôs for the death of Akhæmenes. Revenge for a kinsman's blood must have seemed not only a pleasure but a sacred duty; she asks it of the king, but he grants it not; she applies to Megabyzus, but he sends her off. For five years she still kept teazing her son, till she gained her victims from him. Inarôs she crucified or empaled on three stakes, as though, it would seem, he had thrice deserved his death: and fifty Greeks (all she could get of them) she beheaded. Megabyzus was sorely grieved and made mourning: he asked leave to go to Syria his province, whither he had before secretly sent the other Greeks: he went thither, and revolted from the king. The outline of this story we take to be true, though the details present difficulties. We will only remark, that either Megabyzus's revolt was not produced immediately by the death of Inarôs; or else, that from the date of the treason attested by Thucydides and committed (it would appear) by the garrison of Byblus, a treaty which put the leader of the rebellion with his impregnable refuge into the Persian general's hands, there cannot have elapsed so much as five years, when Amestris achieved the execution of the captive; for these five years added to the duration of the rebellion as stated by Thucydides, make eleven years from the spring of B. C. 462, the probable date of Inarôs's rising, according to Diodorus;[o] and then, during the last two years of the 82nd Olympiad, from midsummer B. C. 450 to midsummer B. C. 448, according to Diodorus, we find Artabazus and Megabyzus engaged, not in revolt against the king, but loyally re-

[o] Diodorus, xi. 70, 71, places the outbreak of the rebellion in the second year of the seventy-ninth Olympiad, and in the year of the Athenian archon Tlepolemus; *i. e.* between midsummer B. C. 463 and midsummer B. C. 462.

sisting the Athenians, who under Cimon son of Miltiades again invaded Cyprus and made an attempt to succour Amyrtæus in Egypt. Moreover, Artabazus and Megabyzus (it is said) negotiated the peace which ensued: so that the revolt of Megabyzus, if it did not happen between B. C. 456 and B. C. 450, must have begun after the peace with Athens. It must have ended, however, before Nehemiah was sent byArtaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign to repair the walls of Jerusalem, lately broken down. They had been built (we have reason to believe) by the king's order to those whose concern such a business was, during the revolt of Egypt, at about the time when in the seventh year of his reign he sent thither Ezra the priest and scribe to act on his behalf in the service and worship of the God of Israel.[p]

[p] See Ezra vii. 1, 6–9; Nehem. i. 1–3; ii. 1–9. That at about the time when Ezra received the letter of which he gives a copy, vii. 12–26, there was also a letter issued to the secular authorities to build the walls of Jerusalem, may be inferred by the believer from the prophecy, Dan. ix. 25–27. For the seventy weeks are seventy of those cycles of seven years which the Law of the Sabbath-year had created in Israel; and they terminate half a week or three years and a half after the Messiah was cut off though not for Himself, and thereby, the sacrifice and oblation of the Law, and all the promises of God in the Mosaic ceremonial Law, were made to cease as promises now fulfilled. But the Messiah was crucified (as we calculate) at Easter A. D. 29, and from this point in the midst of the seventieth week (which had begun at the baptism of John) three and a half years bring us down to Michaelmas A. D. 32. About this time (Gal. i. 18–21; Acts ix. 26–30; xi. 25, 26; xxii. 17–21) Saul (afterwards Paul) having returned to Jerusalem three years after the death of Stephen, and praying in the Temple as a believer in Jesus, beheld and was spoken to by the Lord Jesus the Messiah, and was commanded to depart out of Jerusalem, and to go to the Gentiles. Then, after Paul had been taken down to Cæsarea by the brethren who knew the murderous intentions of the Jews, and thence had sailed for his native city Tarsus of Cilicia, God having made choice of Simon Peter, that the Gentiles should by his mouth first hear the story of the Gospel and believe, (Acts xv. 7–9) commanded the centurion Cornelius at Cæsarea by a holy angel to send for Peter to Joppa, and by the now well-known voice of the Holy Spirit, speaking from without into his ears, commanded Peter to go with the messengers to Cornelius, having first in a vision instructed him that the Mosaic Law

IV.

WE have told the story of Inarôs the Libyan, on account of its last scene in which Amestris appears, long craving for revenge and in the end acting the executioner. In

of clean and unclean was at an end. The consequence was, that before Peter had finished speaking, the Holy Spirit fell upon Cornelius and those who were assembled with him to hear the message of Peter, causing them, as He had caused the apostles and their company at the first, to speak with tongues hitherto unknown, and so in no native spirit to magnify God. Then Peter, seeing the uncleanness typified by God in the Law to be cleansed indeed by the Spirit of God, and remembering (Acts xi. 16) the Lord's saying, "John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with a Holy Spirit," was convinced (Acts x. 47) that to hinder those who had received the Holy Spirit like themselves, from receiving the water and from being baptized, would be nothing else than to hinder God (Acts xi. 17). He, therefore, appointed them to be baptized in the name of the Lord (Acts x. 48); for he was accompanied from Joppa by six of the brethren (Acts xi. 12, x. 23). Thus the prophet's seventieth week, which began with the Jewish civil year about Michaelmas A. D. 25, was spent in confirming covenant with many in Israel for one week; the Priest-Baptizer John going before, and the Apostles of the Messiah following after, the Lord Himself. When the week expired, with the Jewish civil year, about Michaelmas A. D. 32, God began to make a covenant of grace with the Gentiles, and first of all, He made it with Cornelius and his company. If so, 490 years before Michaelmas A. D. 32, (that is, the Jewish year which began about Michaelmas B. C. 458) will be the year which next ensued after that "commandment to restore and build Jerusalem," in consequence whereof "the street was built again and the wall in troublous times." Moreover, the previous year, the year wherein the order went forth, will be that Jewish civil year in the "first month" of which, (the first Mosaic month), Ezra set forth with the king's commission from Babylon, on the first day of the month; and in the fifth month of which, on the first day of the month, he arrived at Jerusalem. For he did this in the seventh regnal year of king Artaxerxes; which (according to the Egyptian reckoning and that of Ptolemy's Canon) began on the New-year's-day of E. N. 290, or the 16th of December B. C. 459. We will conclude this note, by reverting to a passage above-cited, viz. Acts x. 47. To justify the language of our citation we will bid the reader observe, that the term in the original is not indefinite, ὕδωρ, "Water" without the article, as our English Vulgate intimates, but it is definite, τὸ ὕδωρ, and placed correlatively with the τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον of the context.

justice to her we observe, that she is said to have helped to reconcile Megabyzus her daughter's husband with the king her son, from whom he had revolted, or at least whose troops he had resisted. Again, she helped to obtain the commutation of his sentence when, enraged at his presumption in the chase, the king commanded him to be put to death. Lastly, when he returned to his wife's house from the place of his long exile in the disguise of a leper, she joined his wife and others in persuading Artaxerxes to forgive him. We may believe, then, that though an implacable enemy, she could be true to her friends. But now we come to another story of her revenge. Megabyzus after his restoration to favour, died much lamented. His wife Amytis, her brother king Artaxerxes, and her mother Amestris, all survived him. Amytis had not been a faithful wife, it was said, during her husband's life. Even in her father's reign, Megabyzus had complained to him of her conduct, and she had promised to behave better. After the murder of Xerxes, the unjust execution of his eldest son, and the accession of Artaxerxes, who, having sanctioned his brother's death, was placed by Artapanus as his puppet on the throne, the continued levity of Amytis (in which the king her brother, it would seem, did not restrain her) provoked Megabyzus to listen to schemes of Artapanus's against the king. Afterwards, however, he revealed them; Artapanus and Aspamitres were put to death, and the truth as to the murder of Xerxes came to light.[a] But the sons of Artapanus had followers, especially the household soldiery which their father had commanded; they were able to fight in their own defence or to avenge their father; but they were vanquished and slain. On the king's side, Megabyzus was grievously wounded; lamentation was made over him by Artaxerxes, Amytis, Rhodogune and their mother Amestris; and he was with difficulty saved by the care of a Dorian Greek

[a] The death of Aspamitres was σκάφευσις, a torture described (from Ktesias, as it is supposed) in Plutarch's Life of the Second Artaxerxes § 16.

the king's mediciner, Apollonides of Còs.[b] When, in process of time, Amytis became his widow, her mode of life was that of her mother.[c] Latterly she had fallen into a decline, and during the last two months of her life, she having complained to her mother that Apollonides had first abused her, pretending benefit to her health and afterwards had forsaken her, Amestris told all to the king who gave the treacherous doctor into her hands. She put him in bonds, she had him continually beaten so long as her daughter lingered, and when Amytis expired, she ordered him to be buried alive; a lesson to ladies' confessors in Persia.

After her daughter's death, the implacable widow of Xerxes lived long enough to execute what we may believe she considered another piece of just retaliation, on Alkides a citizen of Kaunus. A son of her daughter by Megabyzus, who from the father of Megabyzus was named Zopyrus, after the death of his parents revolted from the king, and arrived at Athens relying upon his mother's having been a benefactress of the state.[d] Thence he led an

[b] See Ktesias ap. Phot. § 30. The island and town of Côs on the coast of Caria, was a colony from Epidaurus in the Peloponnesus, Herod. vii. 99; and according to Strabo, viii. 6 § 15, had also its temple of Æsculapius, thronged with sick, and full of votive paintings on wood, commemorating cures, like the great temple of the same god at Epidaurus, which (in Strabo's words) was—

πλῆρες ἀεὶ τῶν τε καμνόντων καὶ τῶν ἀναπειμένων πινάκων, ἐν οἷς ἀναγεγραμμέναι τυγχάνουσιν αἱ θεραπεῖαι.

Aristotle, according to Strabo, asserted that Carians had occupied both Epidaurus, which they pronounced Epitaurus, and the neighbouring Hermion, before that famous epoch, the return of the Heracleidæ at the head of a Dorian army to Argos, when, he added, the Carian occupants were reinforced by those Ionians from the Attic tetrapolis who had been followers of the Heracleidæ. This may help to explain Hom. Il. iii. 677, and countenances the story of the colonization of Halicarnassus from Trœzen, a result of the occupation of Trœzen, then called Posidonia, by Trœzen son of Pelops.

[c] Ktesias said—

Κάρτα ἦν Ἀμυτις ἀνδράσιν ὁμιλοῦσα, καὶ τό γε ταύτης καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Ἀμηστρις ὁμοίως.

The latter name is also written Ἀμυστρις and Ἀμιστρις.

[d] The expression of Ktesias, § 43, is κατὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαν, referring apparently to a something on the part of Amytis wife of

expedition against Kaunus a city on the coast of the mainland opposite Rhodes,[e] and commanded the people to give up their city. They said that they would surrender it to him; but to the Athenians who accompanied him they would not. As he entered the fortification, one of them named Alkides, cast a stone upon his head, and so Zopyrus died. Some treachery there was perhaps in the deed, but the Kaunian was true to Artaxerxes if he was false to Zopyrus. He was given up to Amestris and she empaled him.

Megabyzus, which he had before related but which is not noticed by the epitomizer. The fact of Zopyrus's flight to Athens is attested by Herodotus, iii. 160.

[e] Caunus on the Carian mainland opposite Rhodes had quite peculiar customs, one of which was to hold wine-drinking meetings of persons of the same age, whether men, women, or children. Its language, however, was nearly the same as the Carian. They described themselves as having come to the continent from Crete: hence they regarded the people inland as foreigners: for, on one occasion when they had determined to give up the use of foreign temples that had been long established among them and to worship only their own ancestral gods, they took up arms and marched to the border of Calynda, striking the air with their spears, and saying they were driving out the strange gods; see Herod. i. 172. From Crete, too, the Lycians, or properly the Termilæ, came under Sarpedon to the Milyan coast or country of the Solymi, having been driven from Crete by Minos; Herod. i. 173. For the Lycian character of the coins and architecture of Caunus, George Rawlinson refers us to Fellows's *Lycian Coins*, pp. 5, 6; for its situation on the right bank of a small stream by which the waters of a large lake, about ten miles inland, are carried to the sea, he refers us to Geograph. Journal, vol. xii. p. 158. Its closed harbour is mentioned both by Scylax, Peripl. § 99, and by Strabo, xiv. 2 §§ 2, 3. Herodotus believed the Carians to be incomers from the isles of the Ægæan, though they declared themselves original inhabitants of the continent; and the Caunians, on the contrary to be indigenous on the mainland, though they said they came from Crete. We believe the native accounts. Professor Lassen of Bonn, it is said, has proved more scientifically than former writers the Indo-Germanic character of the inscriptions found in the country of the Lycians and Caunians; though this had long been sufficiently apparent from the labours of Sir C. Fellows and Mr Daniel Sharpe. The work of decipherment was rendered comparatively easy by the existence on tombs of bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Lycian. So George Rawlinson, Herod. vol. i. p. 668, notes.

V.

THE last three anecdotes of Amestris we owe to Ktesias. One other is to be added which like the first of all we take from Herodotus. The occasion which gives rise to the story is this. On his march against Athens, Xerxes was arrived at the east bank of the Strymon, at the town named Eion, which, when it was afterwards besieged by the Athenians under Cimon son of Miltiades, the governor Boges held for Xerxes till the provisions were exhausted; he then, apparently as an offering to the god of the river, threw all the gold and silver over the walls into the Strymon,[a] and leaped alive into a great fire which had already received his children, his wives, his concubines, and his household slaves. All these, by Herodotus's account, Boges had slain before he cast them into the flames. But as his conduct was highly extolled among the Persians in the historian's days, we question the accuracy of this fact which (according to the Magian doctrine) was a deadly offence against the Holy Element. Such an offence we are inclined to believe, it would not have been to burn them—as the Xanthians had done when besieged by Cyrus's general,[b] and as Boges burnt

[a] When the army of Xerxes was about to cross the Hellespont, that "briny river," Xerxes waited on the bridge for the sun to rise; then, looking towards the sun and pouring into the sea a libation from a golden cup or ladle, prayed for the success of his invasion, and finished by casting into the water both the cup and a golden bowl, out of which his libation had been taken; also a golden poniard of the sort called *Akinakes*, described by Josephus Ant. xx. 7 § 10. We have said, Xerxes looked to the sun and prayed; Herodotus says simply εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. Yet the Mahommedan looks to Mecca without praying to Mecca. The historian doubted whether it was as an offering to the sun-god that he threw these things into the deep, or whether it was to honour the stream which previously he had chastised; Herod. vii. 54. The story of the death of Boges is in Herod. vii. 107.

[b] Herod. i. 176. The local name of this chief city of Lycia was *Arna*, according to Stephen of Byzantium, or *Arina*, as it is found on coins and on a monument in the British Museum. It stood 10 + 60 = 70 stades (Strabo xiv. 3 § 6) inland, on the river anciently called Sirbis, and by the Greeks Xanthus. The latter is a translation of the former, if, as

himself—alive. But to return to Xerxes. When he arrived at Eion on the Strymon,[c] where Boges was governor, he found the Magians engaged in propitiating the River with the sacrifice of white horses and other ceremonies, preparatory to his using a bridge of boats that had already been thrown across it. Herodotus does not describe the ritual, but if we believe Strabo,[d] the Persians sacrificed above all to fire and water; and "to water, thus. They go," says he, "to a lake, or river, or spring, dig a pit, and into this slaughter the victim, taking care lest aught of

Bochart (Geogr. Sacr. Part ii. i. 6) is cited as affirming, the ancient (that is, it would seem, the Milyan) name is a Semitic term signifying "yellow." See G. R.'s note on Herod. ii. 176. The name *Arna* might be thought a sign that the Termilæ from Crete were a Pelasgian race; for the name is also very ancient in Bœotia and Thessaly; see Strabo ix. 2 § 34; ix. 5 § 18. If so, Lycian, so much of it as remains, would be a specimen of the Pelasgian language. But the bilingual inscriptions shew it too unlike to Greek. As to the self-immolation of Boges applauded by the Perso-Aryans, we find the same spirit in the old Hindu Aryan warriors. Mountstuart Elphinstone (Hist. of India, p. 260) relates how in A. D. 711, a Hindu state extending from Multân in the Panjâb to the mouth of the Indus, was invaded by an Arab army under Mohammed Casim, which set out from Shiraz in Fars and was conveyed by sea. The invaders forced their way from the coast to *Alor* or *Aror* the seat of the râja, the ruins of which exist near Bakkar in Sindh. Here the râja was defeated and slain in the field, and the city was besieged. It was defended by the râja's widow. When provisions failed, her resolntion did not forsake her, and the Râjput garrison "determined to devote themselves, along with her, after the manner of their tribe. The women and children were first sacrificed *in flames of their own kindling*. The men bathed, and with other ceremonies took leave of each other and of the world. The gates were then thrown open. The Râjputs rushed out, sword in hand, and throwing themselves on the weapons of their enemies, perished to a man. Those of the garrison who did not share in this act of desperation, gained little by their prudence; the city was carried by assault; and the men in arms were slaughtered . . . their families were reduced to bondage." Other instances of self-immolation occur, as pp 275, 276, 282.

[c] Herod. vii. 113.

[d] Strabo xv. 3 § 14. For the Persian, *i. e.* Perso-Magian, scruple about defiling running water with the secretions of the body, or even by washing the hands therein, see Herod. i. 140.

the neighbouring water be bloodied; as if they would in that case defile it. Then (the victim, having first been cut up by a Magian [e]) after laying out the pieces of flesh on sprigs of myrtle and laurel, the Magians tap upon them, ἐφάπτονται,[f] with slender rods, and chaunt over them; pouring out oil withal, mingled with milk and with honey, not into fire nor water but into the ground." The flesh of the slaughtered victims, in the case of a sacrifice to water as in other cases previously mentioned, was probably divided among those who made the sacrifice; for the god's portion

[e] Strabo xv. 3 § 13.

[f] The word ἐφάπτονται is translated "*tangunt*" in the Latin version of the Strabo edited for MM. Didot by Carl Müller. We think George Rawlinson's version "*set it on fire*" (in his note on Herod. vii. 114) inconsistent with a parenthetical observation in Strabo's previous account of the rites performed by the Persians to Fire:—

Τοὺς δὲ φυσήσαντας ἢ νεκρὸν ἐπὶ πῦρ θέντας, ἢ βόλβιτον, θανατοῦσι.

Following, then, the common meaning of ἅπτεσθαι, we render ἐφάπτονται "*touch upon*," or, "*tap upon;*" and we observe of the mere outward act, that it was of the same kind with that which Moses was commissioned by our God to do with his rod, when a work of God's, new and marvellous, was to be wrought by the ministry of Moses, in order to indicate the presence of a Power which in familiar operation man forgets, or which he is permitted to make use of without any special commission from his Maker. The act of the rod of Moses, as the Septuagint renders it, was πατάσσειν, "*striking.*"

As to the works of Divine Power and the words of Divine Foreknowledge by which our God authenticated the commissions which He gave, not only to Moses, but, from time to time, to the Prophets of His ancient Church, and by which our Lord, the Son of God, authenticated His own commission, and the commissions which He gave to His Apostles, it is plain they were necessary, if it has really been a purpose of the Living God's to communicate with the human race in the former and in the latter times. But so to communicate, is but the pursuance of a plan whereof we discern the commencement in the very creation of man: beholding as we do, in man, an animal endowed with such capacities of understanding, of moral feeling, and of self-government, as to be able to receive revelations of its Maker; to keep them in memory, as still seen by the eye or sounding in the ear, and to guide its will by them in actions, the doing or not doing of which is left to its own choice. Yes, the fact that man can conceive of a Creator, and act upon the conception, proves him the subject of a plan of the Creator's to do something with him through those capacities.

was the soul of the victim. The consumption of the whole sacrifice by the celebrants is a peculiarity which Herodotus also mentions;[g] though why no portion of the body was given to the god, he does not say. In such rites were the Magians engaged when Xerxes came up. Afterwards he crossed the Strymon with his army, from a spot on the left, the eastern, bank where the Athenians afterwards built Amphipolis. It was somewhat higher up the river than Eion, and was called the Nine Roads. Having learnt that this was the name, the Magians proceeded to bury alive at the place, which belonged to the territory of the Edonian Thracians, nine native boys and nine native girls. Now, then, the historian gives the tale which we borrow from him of Amestris. In his account of the reign of Cambyses, besides other furious acts of the king, he had related how once Cambyses took twelve of the noblest of the Persians and without charging them with any crime worthy of death, buried them all up to the neck. Here he remarks on what was done at the Nine Roads, that burying alive is a Persian custom. We have had occasion to give an instance in the story of Apollonides. But he adds, "I am told that Amestris the wife of Xerxes when she was grown old, by way of compensation, gave to the god, who is said to be under ground, twice seven children of Persians that were men of distinction, burying them in the earth." This is the story. The god propitiated by the Magians at the Nine Roads and by Amestris in her old age, could not have been the god of the Aryans' Auramazda. Rather, we should identify him with that enemy, "the god of lies," mentioned in Darius Hystaspes' son's Inscription at Behistun, who may have been an object of Magian veneration. However, as an "element" Earth as well as Fire and Water, would have homage. The modern Zoroastrians have an angel of the earth, Esfendârmad, who cannot endure *dead* bodies to be inhumed in his earthy vestment. But as by the Mosaic legislation and therefore also, it is probable, by the primitive Divine

[g] Herod. i. 132.

Law among mankind, the same body was defiling, when abandoned by its spirit, which was before clean and undefiling; so it may have been admitted by the Magian sect, that the elements which they had presumed to quicken, hallow, and deify, were not defiled by living bodies, though they were defiled by having dead animal matter incorporated with them. If so, to bury a man alive, the custom called Persian by Herodotus, may have been considered consistent with respect for the Magian dogmas; as we have supposed in the case of committing live bodies to fire. It may have been in deference to such a distinction in Magian casuistry, that the Persians put men to death by leaving them planted up to the neck in the ground, with the head only above the surface.

Dead bodies of men, we know, by the modern as well as by the ancient Zoroastrians, after having been torn by a dog are exposed aloft, to be devoured by the birds of the air. Herodotus mentions a Persian custom which looks like a compromise between the Magian treatment of the human corpse and the ordinary methods. To burn a corpse was utterly incompatible with Magianism; but dead bodies, whether or not they had been previously torn by dog or bird in compliance with the Magian prescription, were by the Persians covered with wax before they were committed to the ground.[h] Only for its being possible that this compromise was used, we should have concluded that the Magian scruple as to the Earth was entirely disregarded by Xerxes in the case of Artakhæes son of Artæus an Akhæmenian, who was one of those that superintended the cutting of the isthmus of Athos, and who died at Acanthus after Xerxes had arrived there from the Strymon. The king (says Herodotus) carried him to the tomb and buried him with all magnificence, while the whole army helped to raise a mound over him.[i] Here, in the

[h] Herod. i. 140. Deference to the Magi may have been a cause why the slain on the field where Akhæmenes son of Darius was defeated in Egypt by Inarôs, were left on the surface of the ground, so that Herodotus surveyed their bones.

[i] Herod. vii. 22, 117.

days of Herodotus, the Acanthians (who had been zealous in the business of the king's canal) offered sacrifices to the dead man as to a hero, and invoked him by name.

All that is recorded has now been related of Amestris;—a queen whom "not a few of the learned," without any necessity, nay, against the evidence of facts, led (as they will tell us) by their instinct and sure intuition; or (as we would phrase it) carried away by hatred of the Hebrews, and sympathy for their enemies, such as the Amalekite Haman and his sons, have been pleased to identify with the Esther of the records of God's ancient Israel. Only, we learn further from Ktesias, that she died at a great age; apparently, not long before her son Artaxerxes.

CHAPTER VIII.

I.

THE result we have been led to, by the enquiries in the preceding pages, is this, That none of the Persian kings can be the Ahasuerus of the book Esther, unless Darius son of Hystaspes is he. If Darius cannot be Esther's Ahasuerus, then, indeed, we might suppose, that either the book Esther is no genuine historical document, though in our judgment it has not a single suspicious feature to set against the high authority on which we receive it, or else we must give less credit than hitherto to the character or to the continuity of the Persian history which we derive from Greek writers.

But the son of Hystaspes is as certainly Esther's Ahasuerus as every one, both of his predecessors and of his successors demonstrably is not. None of the objections by which they are excluded apply to him; and some proper characteristics of his, distinguish Esther's Ahasuerus likewise.

He is a Perso-Median monarch, not (like Darius the Mede and his predecessors) a Medo-Persian. His empire is not too limited to be that of Esther's lord, like the Medo-Persian or like that of which Cyrus, Cambyses (who had

equally the regal name of Ahasuerus [a]) and the pretended Smerdis were successively sovereigns. Neither is his reign too short, like each of these preceding Persian reigns. He is not excluded, because (like Xerxes and all the kings who followed Xerxes) he lived too late on earth to be Esther's lover; or because (like each of these) he could not be distinguished from all his predecessors by the description which differences Esther's Ahasuerus, "the king who ruled from India to Ethiopia."

The comparative table of parallel generations above given, shows that Darius's generation was contemporary with that of Esther, and, further, that we may believe of him what cannot be said of any other in the Persian line, not even of his own contemporaries Cambyses and the sham Smerdis, that he neither died too early nor was born too late to have seen her in her bloom of youth.

Darius son of Hystaspes was the first of the Persian and probably of all the Asiatic monarchs who ruled from India to Ethiopia—an empire as wide as the expeditions, which Egyptian tradition emulously magnified, of their old Sesostris. Accordingly (if we may believe Diodorus and Herodotus's Egyptian authorities) Darius claimed to have his statue placed before that of the old conqueror in front

[a] Ezra iv. 6. Since Cambyses was a royal name among the Persians, which had alternated with Cyrus repeatedly, it appears that the son of the great Cyrus assumed the name of Ahasuerus to proclaim the rights which he inherited from the Medo-Persian line: For the last king but one of this line, Astyages, the father (as Josephus tells us and as we argue from Xenophon) of Darius the Mede, appears to have had that name or title, since Darius the Mede is called by Daniel, son of Ahasuerus, Dan. ix. 1. So, too, Astyages rather than his father *Kwakhsh(t)ara*, or Cyaxares, who (according to Herodotus) was king of the Medes at the time, may be understood to be the general (called Ahasuerus in Tobit xiv. 15) who along with Nabokhodonosor, that is, the son of the reigning king of the Chaldæans, Nabopolassar, took and destroyed Nineveh. That Astyages Ahasuerus was the acting head of the Medes at the time of the fall of Nineveh, may account for the error which Berosus or some who cite Berosus have made in representing that Nabopolassar negotiated the Median alliance with Asdahaga or Astyages not with Cyaxares.

of the temple of Phthah at Memphis. The proposal is said to have been made in a congregation of priests, and to have been opposed by a chief-priest or (as Herodotus words the tale) by the priest of Hephaistos; for so the Greeks rendered Phthah. This speaker denied that the acts of Darius had yet surpassed those of Sesosis, as Diodorus calls the conqueror. The Persian monarch without displeasure replied, that he would do his best to be not a whit behind Sesosis when he had lived as long; and he bade them compare his achievements with those of their ancient king at the same age, saying, that their comparative merits would best be tested by this method.[b]

[b] Diodor. i. 56 § 4; Herod. ii. 110. Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us, that two beautiful colossal statues discovered at Memphis, prove the Sesostris of Herodotus, who set up colossal statues of himself and his queen 30 cubits high, and of his four sons 20 cubits high, in front of the temple of Hephaistos, to have been Rameses the Second, or *Remeses Mi-Amun son of Sethi* and grandson of that first Remeses or Rameses, with whom the 19th dynasty of Egyptian kings began. Besides the proposal to set up a statue of Darius son of Hystaspes, facing the temple of Phthah and preceding the statue of Rameses the Second which already faced the temple, there was another circumstance which naturally led to a comparison between the two kings. Rameses the Second opened a canal from the Nile to the head of the Arabian gulf or Red Sea. This is proved by existing monuments on its former banks. The commencement of this canal is attributed by Herodotus to Nekho son of Psammetikhus, under whose orders the Phœnician expedition started from the Red Sea and circumnavigated Africa, returning to Egypt by the Mediterranean. What Nekho commenced, Herodotus beheld completed, and he attests that the completion was due to Darius son of Hystaspes; by whose orders the expedition accompanied by Skylax started from Kaspapura on the Upper Indus, went down the river, crossed the Indian ocean, along the coast of Arabia, and returned by the Red Sea to Egypt. See Herod. ii. 158 and iv. 39, 42, and 44. It appears, then, that what Nekho commenced and Darius finished, was to re-open the canal of Rameses which the ever-drifting sand had been allowed to fill up; perhaps in the times when the possession of Egypt was disputed between the Ethiopians and the Assyrians. The work of re-opening was again performed under the Greek kings, the Ptolemies, as Strabo's evidence is sufficient to prove; though he erroneously supposed that Darius no less than the son of Psammetikhus had left the work unfinished: Strab. xvii. i § 25. Strabo, however, had learnt,

Not asking for this story more attention than to an evidence that a comparison had been made in Egypt in the time of Herodotus, between the Egyptian Sesostris or Sesosis, or rather Rameses the second, and the Persian Darius Hystaspes' son, we may remark, that the Persian

what Herodotus had not, that "Sesostris" cut the canal originally. Herodotus describes it as broad enough for two triremes to row abreast upon it; Strabo, as a hundred cubits broad, and deep enough for a ship of a myriad burden, μυριοφόρῳ νηί. Herodotus says, it left the Nile a little above Bubastis (Tel Basta) near Patumos (Pithom, Exod. i. 11. Thoum, Itiner. Anton. the modern *Tel el Wadi*, says Sir J. G. Wilkinson). Strabo fetches it from Phakûssa, *Tel Fakhus*, below Bubastis. But this, Sir J. G. Wilkinson says, is too low down the stream. Perhaps a feeder ran from Phakûssa to the lake Ballah; whence, at near its southern end, traces of an ancient canal (according to Wyld's "Map of the Isthmus of Suez with Lower Egypt and the canals now in progress") extend to the "Bitter Lakes," El Mamleh, which Strabo says were sweetened by the waters of the canal to the Red sea. "The portion of it that remains," says Sir J. G. Wilkinson, "now begins a short distance from Belbays, which is about eleven miles south (*i. e.* above) Bubasstis." As the Sesostris of Herodotus, for whose statue before the temple of Phthah the precedence of a statue of Darius was disputed, was really Rameses II; and as the Sesostris of Strabo, who first made the canal to the Red sea, was really Rameses II; so we may presume that the Sesostris of Herod. ii. 102, who fitted out a fleet of war-galleys on the Red sea, was the same Rameses son of Sethi. The shoaly sea reached by this king at last, in the expedition which he made from the Arabian gulf along the shores of the Erythræan sea (Indian Ocean), subduing the nations as he went, may have been the waters at the head of the Persian gulf, the sea-border of the kingdom founded by Nimrod son of Kush. For Sesôstris, Diodorus writes Sesôsis. The difference is that between Artakhshatra (Aryan) and Artaksassa (Kissian); and we may therefore take the *tr* to be a Persian mispronunciation of *s* or *th* in the Coptic name. From the Egyptian priests having boasted of Rhamses not Sesostris, to Germanicus when he visited Thebes, (Tacit. Ann. ii. 60) Sir J. G. Wilkinson concludes that the mistake was not Egyptian. Sesosis, perhaps, is a patronymic of Rameses II, signifying son of *Sethi:* for Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us in a note on Herod. ii. 72 that *se* in Coptic is "son." That Sesôsis or Sesôstris was really Sethi or his son Rameses, or the two together, may further appear from the assertion of Dicæarchus, quoted by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, that he was the successor of Horus. For this Horus, mistaken for the god, was really the last king of the eighteenth dynasty, and the first reign of the

power reached its greatest height under Darius, and that the wide dominion he acquired had been well prefigured in the dream of Cyrus by the wings on the shoulders of Hystaspes's eldest son; whereof the one overshadowed Asia, the other Europe.

II.

We think that we have now stated good reasons for believing Darius the Persian the son of Hystaspes to be the king Ahasuerus of the book Esther. But we will confirm our conclusion by another testimony. We cite

nineteenth dynasty, that of Rameses I. the father of Sethi, was very short; (not to say that the king may have been confounded with his more celebrated grandson of the same name) and this second Rameses, as it is argued from the sculptures at Karnak, during the former and the principal part of the years ascribed to his reign, (from sixty-three to sixty-six years) was a partner in the rule and the exploits of his (titular?) father Sethi. Hence, Mr Stewart Poole, as to Manetho's Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ῥαμέσσης, proposes to omit the article ὁ. When Darius is represented to have said that he would not be one whit behind Sesôsis after he had reigned as long, we perceive an allusion to the extraordinary length of the reign of Rameses son of Sethi, whose sixty-second regnal year is attested by the sculptures. Various statements of the length of his reign are cited as from Manetho. According to Josephus, he reigned sixty-six years. See Sir J. G. Wilkinson in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. ii. pp. 360–372. and compare Geo. Syncellus pp. 134, 136, 295, 302. As to the story told to Herodotus ii. 103 of the invasion of Europe, and the conquest of the Scythians and Thracians by Sesostris, it is plain from Herod. i. 15, 16, 103, 104, that the Scythians did not conquer the Cimmerian land till very long indeed after the time of Rameses II. The Egyptians appear to have been determined that Darius's expeditions should not surpass those of Rameses, and to have founded their story upon the wars of Sethi and his son Rameses with the Shita or Khita who are identified by Mr Stuart Poole with the Hittites of Holy Scripture, the Khatti of the Assyrian records, e. g. Sennacherib's account of the campaign of his third year, on the Taylor Cylinder, in "Assyrian Texts" translated by H. F. Talbot Esq. Number 2 in Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. Herodotus's notion that the Kolkhi or Colchians were left behind by Sesostris, might be exchanged for the supposition that they were planted on the coast of the Euxine by Assyrian conquerors of Egypt or by Nebukhadrezzar.

the concluding sentences of the book Esther, and we say that king Darius Hystaspes' son is hereby singled out from the whole line of Persian kings and determined as the husband of Esther. They refer to a date in Ahasuerus's reign, subsequent to that twelfth of his regnal years, when, the administration of Haman having ended in his ignominious death, the destruction decreed against the Jews was averted through Mordecai, one of themselves, who had now become the king's chief minister.[a] The important part of the passage is this, "And the king Ahasuerus laid a tribute upon the land and upon the isles of the sea."[b] This measure, the most remarkable that is recorded of Darius's administration, was probably not exhibited in an intelligible manner in Josephus's copy of the Greek version of Esther; for this and not the Hebrew original he has certainly followed. Not only has the Jewish historian taken no notice of the information, but it is a fact that the information cannot be obtained in general from the existing copies of the Septuagint Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures; such for instance as are represented by the text of the old Roman and of Tischendorf's late edition. But if Josephus had possessed a copy of the Greek Esther like that in the Alexandrian MS of the Septuagint, he might have learnt from the close of it, as from the Hebrew original, that Esther's lord was the Darius Hystaspes' son of Herodotus.

It is expressly affirmed by Herodotus, that under Cyrus and Cambyses there was nothing definitely established in

[a] He became second after the king Ahasuerus; Esth. x. 3. He was then the king's second and the king was his First. May we venture to compare John the Prophet-baptizer's saying πρῶτός μου ἦν, *i. e.* "He always was my First, though He followed behind me, and appeared after me?"

[b] Esther x. 1. I do not know why Tischendorf should not have admitted the reading of the Alex. MS which of course he must have regarded as the genuine; especially when he found it confirmed by his MS. Frid. Aug. It is—

ἔγραψε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ΤΕΛΗ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, τῆς τε γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης.

The important word τέλη is omitted in the common Septuagint text.

respect of tribute, by which term we are to understand the king's due from the provinces, after the administrative expenses had been paid. Under Cyrus and Cambyses, the Ionian historian tells us, the nations used to bring gifts to the great king; and the statement is illustrated by his account of the behaviour of Cambyses, when in Egypt he received a present which did not satisfy him, from the Cyrenian Greeks. But by ordaining those fixed yearly tributes which continued to be paid under his successors, Darius did not (it is probable) increase the burdens of the provinces. His commutation of the indefinite demands which as master of all lives and properties he was entitled to make at any time, was probably a measure no less beneficial to the subject nations, than to his own treasury. But among the Persians, who were themselves by the scheme exempt from tribute, whether in precious metals or other products, Darius was decried for his policy. In the time of Herodotus, which was that of his grandson, they remembered him as a *huckster*, κάπηλος or *banya*, as the Hindu Aryans call their trader caste. With the low caste behaviour thus attributed to king Darius, they contrasted that of his predecessors, calling Cyrus a father, and Cambyses a master.[c] To Orientals the despot is always a noble character. His system of regular payments, Darius established in his Asiatic and African dominions first. Ultimately it was extended to the isles and to the districts which he conquered on the mainland of Europe as far as Thessaly.[d]

III.

THE area first dealt with, which we may call his Asiatic empire, Darius divided into twenty Satrapies. Of these, without informing us of the source from which he obtained it (for he had no *notes* or *appendices* in which to stow away information which only a few of his hearers or

[c] Herod. iii. 89. [d] Herod. iii. 96.

readers might care for) Herodotus has supplied a valuable list[a] which we will exhibit to the reader, as we have already given him the list furnished by Herodotus, of nations in the invading army of Xerxes son of Darius. The order, however, in which the historian has enumerated the satrapies, is not that of any of the three lists of the nations of his empire, which Darius has bequeathed to us by his inscriptions at Behistun, at Persepolis, and at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, nor is it that of the nations led against the Greeks by Xerxes. It appears to be an inversion of the Persian order, which has been adopted for the purpose of bringing the satrapy containing the Ionians to the head of the list. Had it proceeded regularly from the western to the central, and thence to the eastern provinces of the empire, it would have been in itself unexceptionable, but (without adverting to the seventh and thirteenth satrapies, of which we will speak presently) we see that the result produced by the inversion, is an order which proceeds from the west to the centre, thence to the east, and thence back again to the west. The Persian order began undoubtedly with the central parts, but it is uncertain whether it gave precedence next to the western or to the eastern provinces. We think, however, that the eastern provinces were next enumerated, because this order is most easily restored from that given us by Herodotus. To exhibit this order along with that of Herodotus, we have arranged the first nineteen, the silver-paying satrapies, in three parallel columns numbered, from the left to the right of the reader, as first, second, and third columns. The twentieth and single gold-paying satrapy, we have placed in a line from left to right at the bottom of the three columns. If the reader takes these columns in succession, beginning with the one on his left hand, and finishes with what is placed below the columns, he pursues the order of Herodotus. But if he begins with the second or middle column, and, having read it from top to bottom, proceeds to the third or last column on his right; if then, having

[a] Herod. iii. 89–96.

read this in like manner, he returns to the first column, and reads its satrapies in inverted order from the bottom to the top instead of from top to bottom, and if he afterwards (as by the former method) finishes by reading what is added below the columns, he will have followed what we take to have been the order of the document whence Herodotus's account was originally derived. This order we have also indicated by the numbers on the left of the several satrapies: those overhead shewing the order which Herodotus has pursued. In one respect we have ventured to correct Herodotus's statement. Instead of the countries which he has placed in his seventh or (as we make it) the Persian thirteenth satrapy, we have substituted the countries (all but the first) which he has placed in his thirteenth or (as we make it) the Persian sixth satrapy; and by this correction we have removed, we think, a great obscurity especially in regard of the Paktyan country. The parts transposed by us are printed in Italic type.

THE TWENTY SATRAPIES INTO WHICH IN RESPECT OF TRIBUTE THE SUBJECTS OF DARIUS KING OF PERSIA IN ASIA AND AFRICA WERE DISTRIBUTED.[a]

	Yearly tribute of Silver in Babylonian talents.
1	
19. The Ionians, the Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, the Carians, the Lycians, the Mylians and the Pamphylians. These altogether paid yearly Babylonian talents' weight of silver	400
2	
18. The Mysians, the Lydians, the Lasonians, the Cabalians and the Hyghennians. These altogether paid	500
3	
17. The Hellespontians of the Asiatic coast, the Phrygians, the Thracians called Bithynians, the Paphlagonians, the Mariandynians, and the Syrians called by the Persians Kappadokians, paid	360
4	
16. The Kilikes, or Cilicians, (besides 360 white horses one for every day in the year, and 140 talents of silver spent upon a cavalry police in the province) paid	360
5	
15. All Phœnikia, from Posideium on the Cilician frontier; the Philistine Syria, or Palæstina as far as Egypt; with the isle Kypros or Cyprus, and other parts, except the Arab, paid altogether	350
6	
14. Egypt, the adjoining Lybians, (the Greeks of) Kyrene or Cyrene and (the Greeks of) Barka, besides 240 talents rent from the Lake Mœris fishery, and corn for 120,000 troops delivered at Memphis, paid	700
7	
13. [*Armenia and the countries thence to the Euxine sea*] paid	170
8	
1. Susa and the rest of the Kissian country, paid	300
9	
2. Babylon and the rest of Assyria (besides 500 eunuch boys) paid	1000
10	
3. Agbatana and the rest of Media, the Parikanians (probably, the Varkana or Hyrkanians) and the Orthokyrbasians (so we read) *i. e.* "the Upright-caps" paid	450
11	
4. The Caspians, the Pausikans, the Pantimathans and the Dareitans, paid	200
12	
5. The Baktrian tribes as far as the Æglians, paid	360
13	
6. The Paktyian country, [*the Sattagydans, the Gandarians, the Dadikans and the Aparytans*] paid	400
14	
7. The Sagartians, the Sarangians, the Thamanæans, the Utians, the Mykans with the islanders of the Erythræan sea (Persian gulf). These altogether paid	600
15	
8. The Sakans and the Caspians, paid	250
16	
9. The Parthians, the Khorasmians, the Sogdians and the Arians (of Herat) paid	300
17	
10. The Parikanians with the Asiatic and lank-haired Ethiopians, paid	400
18	
11. The Matienians, the Saspeirians and the Alarodians (*i. e.* as Sir H. C. Rawlinson points out, the people of the Scripture Ararat, the Urarda or Urartha of the Assyrian inscriptions) paid	200
19	
12. The Moskhans, the Tibarenans (or Meshek and Tubal of the Hebrews and Assyrians) the Makronians (called by Strabo Sanni) and the Mosynœkans, paid	300

The twentieth and last Satrapy was that of the Indi, or Hindus, who paid 360 Eubœan talents of gold-dust equal to thirteen times as much silver, or 4680 Eubœan talents, that is (at seven Eubœan to six Babylonian) $4011\frac{3}{7}$ Babylonian talents of silver.

[a] For some Notes on this table of the twenty Satrapies, see Appendix No. 5.

The particulars of the above account, it is proper to add cannot be reconciled with Herodotus's subjoined statement of the total yearly revenue to the king, from the twenty satrapies. He gives us 9540 Eubœan talents of silver, as the equivalent of the total revenue paid in Babylonian talents by nineteen satrapies. He adds to this 4680 Eubœan talents of silver, the value of the 360 Eubœan talents of Indian gold at thirteen of silver to one of gold. The total revenue from both sources he makes equivalent to 14,560 Eubœan talents of silver. Of these three numbers, the first, 9540, neither agrees with the total of the sums paid by the several satrapies in silver, when reduced from Babylonian to Eubœan talents, nor, if added to the second, the 4680 talents worth of gold from the twentieth satrapy, does it amount to the third, the grand total of 14,560 Eubœan talents. The Sancroft MS would help to remove one difficulty. Instead of 9540 + 4680 = 14,560 it is said to give 9880 + 4560 = 14,560. Here, of the two parts, the second is certainly corrupt, but if we substitute for it the true amount, 4680, the two parts do together make up the whole expressed by the third number, and we might suppose the item which expresses the total received by the king, from the satrapies that paid in silver, to have been stated by Herodotus at 9880, as in the Sancroft MS and not (as in the common text) at 9540 Eubœan talents. But 9880 Eubœan talents is a number which, still more than the one commonly printed, exceeds the total obtained by adding together the payments from the nineteen satrapies, and reducing them from Babylonian to Eubœan talents. To meet the difficulty, we have but this suggestion to offer, Can the difference between the sum of the several payments which Herodotus assigns to the nineteen satrapies, and his total of Babylonian reduced to Eubœan talents, be the amount of the tribute in silver from the islands and countries which Darius conquered in Europe?

If so, it will be proper to state, as nearly as may be, what this difference is. It is the difference between 9880

Eubœan talents of silver, and the sum of (400 + 500 + 360 + 360 + 350 + 700 + 170 + 300 + 1000 + 450 + 200 + 360 + 400 + 600 + 250 + 300 + 400 + 200 + 300, that is,) 7600 Babylonian talents. Now, at the rate of six Babylonian to seven Eubœan talents (for we are told each Babylonian talent weighed seventy Eubœan *minæ*, or one-sixth more than a Eubœan talent) the latter total 7600 Babylonian talents is equal to 8866⅔ Eubœan talents. Therefore the difference between 9880 Eubœan and 7600 Babylonian talents is the difference between 9880 and 8866⅔ Eubœan talents, and that is, 1013⅓ Eubœan talents of silver.

Besides the nations of the twenty satrapies that paid a yearly tribute to the Great King, the king of Persia, in silver and gold, Herodotus mentions the Persians themselves as the only nation that enjoyed its country free of tribute. This seems also to be intimated by the inscriptions of Darius containing lists of the provinces, at Persepolis and at Nahksh-i-Rustam.[b] However, there is authority for the belief that whenever the great king paid one of his solemn visits to his ancestral home, all met him with gifts. Herodotus adds, that the Æthiopians who bordered on Egypt, and had been conquered by Cambyses, the Kolkhians and their neighbours as far as Mount Caucasus, the frontier in that quarter of the Persian empire, and the Arabs (of the Mesopotamian and Syrian deserts) were ranked not as tributaries, but as bringers of gifts, being (we may suppose) by their situation or by their nomade habits, more difficult to coerce. The gift of the Arabs, however, was brought annually and was of

[b] See the inscription in Aryan on the south wall of the great platform at Persepolis, lines 9 and 10; Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 279, 280. Also, Darius's tomb-inscription, line 19 of the Aryan, Ib. p. 293; lines 14 and 15 of the Kissian, vol. xv. p. 150; lines 9 and 10 of the Assyrian, vol. xix. p. 265. The payment of tribute here asserted, is not from Persis but from the provinces, although the people of Persis had rebelled twice; that is to say, once in the reign of Cambyses, and once under Darius himself. On both occasions, however, they took up arms in behalf of one whom they had been induced to take for Bardiya or Smerdis son of Cyrus.

a fixed amount. It consisted of 1000 talents of *libonah*, or *libanotos i. e.* frankincense. The African Æthopians brought their present once in three years, and its amount was fixed at two particular measures of gold in the shape of dust or nuggets, two hundred logs of ebony, five Æthiop lads, and twenty tusks of the elephant. Such presents they had brought, it seems, of old to the Pharaohs of Egypt. The Kolkhians (who, according to Herodotus, were of Egyptian origin) they and their neighbours every fifth year brought a hundred boys and a hundred girls for a present to the king. They appear to be alluded to, as well as the Iberians, in the story told by Megasthenes, that Nabukhadrezzar king of Babylon, after overrunning Libya and Iberia, planted a portion of the conquered population on the Asiatic side of the Pontus (Euxinus). His expression is "the right hand side," but the reference is to a Greek coaster from the Hellespont; just as Herodotus, speaking of the third satrapy, calls the Asiatic Hellespontians, the Hellespontians "of the right hand coast as you enter the straits," meaning from the Ægean sea.

IV.

We have already intimated, that besides the tribute now detailed, Herodotus tells us of another tribute, which in process of time (that is, after the extension of his sway to those parts) Darius levied from the islands and the countries in Europe, which he had reduced as far as Thessaly.[a]

This should lead us now to remark that there are two characteristics proper to Darius Hystaspes' son, contained in these words from the book "Esther;" "The king Ahasuerus laid a tribute upon the land and upon the islands of the sea." One of these two peculiar features

[a] Herod. iii. 96.

we have just enlarged upon: Darius was the Persian monarch who fixed the tributes of the subject nations. The other is equally important to our argument. He alone was lord of the Greek islands in the Ægean, after the twelfth year of his reign. No former king of Persia had been their lord, and though they formed part of the empire, which Darius bequeathed to his son Xerxes, they were lost to Xerxes after that destruction of his fleet at Mycalê in the seventh year of his reign, which we have had occasion to relate. Of all the islands, Samos [b] was the first conquered by Darius, if not also lost by Xerxes. No estimate has been intentionally preserved to us by Herodotus of either the particulars, or the total of this tribute, which Darius by whom it was imposed, and for a while Xerxes, received from islands and countries in Europe. Otherwise, a comparison might have been made between the cost of Athenian and of Persian supremacy where the one had been exchanged altogether for the other; for on the Asiatic coast, it is probable the Greek cities were rarely relieved from a land-tax to the Persian government by their dependence upon the maritime power of Athens.[c] If a supposition above suggested should be admitted, it would appear that the European tribute to Persia amounted to somewhat more than 1000 Eubœan talents of silver. Whatever it was, it included payments from Thrace and Macedonia which, as the Athenians never received the like, would be to be deducted before the Persian could fairly be compared with the Athenian demands. On the other hand, the tributes from the Asiatic Greeks would have to be deducted from the sum which Athens received yearly from her allies. When on the retirement of Sparta in about the fourth year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad (Diod. xi. 47, 48) or the year ending Midsummer B. C. 476, the war with Persia was continued by the maritime states under the command of

[b] Herod. iii. 139–149, ix. 90–92.

[c] This probability is attested as a fact, Herod. vi. 42.

the Athenians, the contributions which they consented to make under the assessment of Aristides amounted to 460 talents. In the time of Pericles, when these payments were become perpetual and compulsory, supporting the power of Athens during peace with Persia, the treasury having been transported from Delos to Athens in about B. C. 461, they still yielded no more than 600 talents; the increase being due, it is thought, to commutations of military service, to the subjugation of certain free states, and to the acquisition of fresh allies. However, shortly before the peace of Nicias in the year which began at Midsummer B. C. 422, Alcibiades persuaded the Athenians to make a fresh valuation of the property of the allied states and to impose a new assessment. This produced more than 1200 talents. But about the year which began at Midsummer B. C. 415 instead of tributes there was substituted a duty of one twentieth, or five per cent, on exports and imports in all the subject cities: and this state of things continued till the overthrow of the Athenian supremacy.[d]

Let us return to king Darius son of Hystaspes. Whatever were the provincial or the municipal imposts to which the king's tribute was super-added, the whole may be believed to have been not in itself excessive in most parts of the empire; not only because experience is said to prove popular government more expensive than absolute monarchy, but because (if we may take a story told by Plutarch to be authentic) after Darius had fixed the several tributes, he enquired of the principal men of the provinces whether they were heavy, and though he received no complaint in reply, he struck off fifty per cent.[e] A principal change which the measures of Darius introduced into the king's tributes, appears to have been a substitution of silver and gold for articles of

[d] See Boeckh's *Public Economy of Athens* (the late Sir G. C. Lewis's translation; second edition 1842) pp. 396–402.

[e] Plutarch's *Apophthegm. Regum et Imperatorum.* Compare Herod. vi. 42.

local production. To make up the royalty due from each nation, there may have been established in consequence of this change, places of deposit in every satrapy, and periodical sales on account of the king's revenue, of corn, wine, oil, or whatever other local produce; and this may have given occasion for the sarcasm above noticed, that king Darius had become a "huckster," κάπηλος.[f]

[f] In the seventh regnal year of Darius's grandson Artaxerxes, we meet with orders of the king on provincial treasuries for the payment of corn, oil, wine, salt, as well as silver for local purposes; see Ezra vii. 21, 22.

CHAPTER IX.

I.

We have now made good our promise, to prove the truth of a once general opinion, sanctioned by Archbishop Ussher, and other learned authorities,—That the Ahasuerus of the book Esther is Darius the Persian, the son of Hystaspes. But before we proceed to what we have undertaken to establish next, we will add another observation. If older authority than that of our seventeenth century be desired for it, we say it is an opinion which can boast of a greater antiquity than even that of Josephus, which Prideaux, and many before Prideaux have followed. Our's appears to have been the belief of the old writer to whom we owe a compilation in the Septuagint entitled *the first Esdras;* and sometimes *the Greek Esdras.* When he comes to the second year of Darius the Persian, the first after Cyrus that was named Darius, he introduces a story which (whether it has any foundation of truth or not) Josephus has repeated after him. He tells of a great feast that the king gave, and of a contest of wit held before the king on the morrow, in which three young men who guarded his person maintained each a thesis he had written down and placed under the king's pillow the night before. The first asserted the superior might of wine; the second enlarged upon the superior might of the king, and the third undertook to show the superior might of women,

yet the all-surpassing victoriousness of truth. The third youth who is named Zorobabel, and better afterwards where the contest is again alluded to, in the fifth chapter, Joakim son of Zorobabel was the winner; and, besides the prize, gained his petition, that the king would remember the vow which he had made to the King of heaven at his accession, to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, and to "restore all things." The king, indeed, we have reason to believe, identified Auramazda the god of the Aryans with Jehovah the God of our spiritual fathers, his subjects, the Jews. But the indication, that the Hellenist author in his own mind identified the Darius of whom he tells the story, with the Ahasuerus of the Hebrew book Esther, is his description of the feast on the day before the contest of wit between the three young men of the king's guard. It is this; "And king Darius made a great entertainment to all that were under him, and to all that had been born in his house, and to all the princes of Media and of Persis, and to all the satraps and generals, and governors of places, who were under him from India to Æthiopia, in the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies." [a] We say no more.

Having thus far advocated the opinion of Ussher, we have now to shew for our own part that Esther, whom Darius made his queen in the seventh year of his reign, is the Atossa wife of Darius, whom Greek writers tell of. To do this, we must begin with the question, Since Ahasuerus is certainly Darius Hystaspes' son, is Esther mentioned by Herodotus among the wives of Darius? and, if so, which wife is she? Before attempting to reply, we must exhibit in a table, all the wives and children of Darius, of whom we have been able to glean notices from Herodotus.

[a] Esdras *a*, from ii. 25 to v. 6.

TABLE

OF THE

WIVES AND CHILDREN OF KING DARIUS HYSTASPES' SON.

DARIUS son of Hystaspes became king B. C. 521.

1. The first wife of Darius, a daughter of Gobryas by whom he had three sons before he won the kingdom in B. C. 521 which was about the 29th year of his age, Herod. vii. 2, i. 209, compare Ezra vi. 10.

2. Atossa (wife of Darius after he came to the throne in B. C. 521) bore him four sons, Herod. vii. 2. Called daughter of Cyrus, and said to have been previously wedded, first to her brother Cambyses and again to the Magian who personated Smerdis son of Cyrus. Compare Herod. iii. 31, 68, 88. At the end of Darius's reign she had the entire sway, Herod. vii. 3. According to Æschylus and Plutarch, she survived Darius.

3. Artystone, called daughter of Cyrus like Atossa, was a maiden when married to Darius, Herod. iii. 88. The most beloved of Darius's wives; her image he caused to be wrought for him in gold, Herod. vii. 69.

4. Parmys daughter of Smerdis son of Cyrus, wife of Darius, Herod. iii. 88.

5. Phædime daughter of Otanes son of Pharnaspes, wife first of Cambyses, afterwards of the Magian who pretended to be Smerdis son of Cyrus, lastly of Darius, Herod. iii. 88, 68.

6. Phratagune [a] niece and wife of Darius, being daughter and sole heir of Artanes brother of Darius, and son of Hystaspes son of Arsames. Herod. vii. 224.

[a] As to the etymology of this name, it may be permitted us to observe on the authority of Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 252 that Azurghun or Azaryun in Persian (meaning "Fire-flower") is a species of anemone. Compare the name of a daughter of Xerxes *Rhodogune. Query* "Rose-flower."

Artabazanes eldest son; disputes the succession of Darius with Xerxes, Herod. vii. 2–3. [According to Plutarch *De fraterno amore* he was named Ariamenes and was afterwards slain at Salamis. The same author, *vit. Themist.* c. 14, styles Ariamenes "Xerxes' admiral" in the sea-fight and describes his death. Justin ii. 10 calls him Artemenes.]

Ariabignes son of Darius and the daughter of Gobryas, commands the Ionian and Carian fleets. Is slain at Salamis, Herod. vii. 97. viii. 89.

A third son not named, Herod. vii. 2.

Ariomardus, her son by Darius, commands the Moskhans and Tibarenians B. C. 480, Herod. vii. 78.

Abrokomes son of Darius and Phratagûnê, was slain at Thermopylæ. The name is translated into Greek. (The general in Syria at the time of the expedition of the young Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon, is likewise named Abrokomes by Xenophon Anab. i. 3, § 20; 4 §§ 3, 5, 18; 7 § 12.)

Hyperanthes. This name too is a Greek translation of the real Aryan name. A son of Darius and Phratagûnê slain with his brother at Thermopylæ, Herod. vii. 224.

Arsames son of Darius and Artystônê daughter of Cyrus, commanded the trans-Egyptian Ethiopians and the Arabs in the army of Xerxes B. C. 480. Herod. vii. 69.

Gobryas son of Darius and Artystone, commanded the Mariandynians Ligyans and Cappadokian Syrians in the army of Xerxes, Herod. vii. 72.

Xerxes eldest son of Darius by Atossa, Herod. vii. 2–4. Reigned B. C. 485–465.

Akhæmenes, made by Xerxes lieutenant of Egypt B. C. 484, commands the fleet of Egypt against Greece B. C. 480. Slain at Papremis in Egypt by the rebels under Inaros son of Psammetikhus the Libyan during the reign of his nephew Artaxerxes son of Xerxes. Herod. vii. 7, 97; iii. 12, 15. According to Diodorus xv. 70, 71, 74 the death of Akhæmenes happened in the third year of the seventy-ninth Olympiad which year ended at Midsummer B. C. 461.

Hystaspes son of Darius and Atossa, commands the Baktrians and Sakans in the army of Xerxes, Herod. vii. 64. B. C. 480.

Masistes son of Darius and Atossa, one of the six generals-in-chief of the army of Xerxes B. C. 480 Herod. vii. 64. His name seems to be the Aryan word *Mathishta* 'greatest' or 'general.' For his fate see Herod. ix. 107–113. He then enjoyed the satrapy of which the forces, in the invasion of Greece, had been commanded by his brother Hystaspes.

Artaynte his daughter, marries Darius son of Xerxes, Herod. ix. 108.

Artazostra daughter of Darius, and wife of her cousin Mardonius son of Gobryas by a sister of Darius, appears to have been full sister to Xerxes, Herod. vi. 43. vii. 5.

Note: Besides these wives of Darius and their children, Herodotus mentions Arsamenes son of Darius, but the mother of Arsamenes is not named. He led the Utians and Mykans in the army of Xerxes. Herod. vii. 68.

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II.

Of these wives of Darius enumerated by Herodotus, we should expect, from the Hebrew account of her, to find queen Esther in the most illustrious; though undoubtedly no person from whom Herodotus ever obtained information, would willingly have imparted anything to the glory of the God of Israel, or which might make known His peculiar people. From the tacit agreement which seems to exist very generally in our day in Christendom itself, to banish mention of the Son of God and to contemn His more conspicuous disciples, especially such as by formal dedication are wedded for life to the ministry of His grace and to the assertion of His will and truth, we may judge to what an extent the same spirit would pervade the countries and the times in which Herodotus lived, travelled, and enquired. We ought to expect that they who knew Esther to be a Jewess, but were not themselves of her people, would drop the name of her nationality, and substitute another, when they spoke of her; if they did not ignore her altogether;—as, in writing his first work, *The Jewish War*, when no Christian yet was suspected to be standing close beside his imperial patrons in the Flavian family, Josephus ignored the followers of that Messiah Whom the majority of his nation had rejected. We ought not, therefore, to be surprised when, on examining the table above given, we are not able at first either by name, by parentage, or by nation, to recognise Esther in any one of Darius's wives. Yet since, for some years after January B. C. 515 when she became Darius's chief wife and queen, her nation and parentage were unknown at court, even to the king himself; and since from the middle of B. C. 511, her power must have been secured with king Darius, while her reputation was widely extended in the provinces through the removal of Haman and the elevation of her cousin Mordecai to the first place of authority and power in Darius's administration, we are induced to look again and to seek for her in a court-dress, or under the disguise of some popular misrepresentation.

The difficulty is solved so soon as we remember that she had another name, and what it was. Besides the name better known to those for whom her story was first written in Hebrew, and, after the Macedonian conquest, translated into Greek; a name also best known to ourselves who have been grafted upon her people in lieu of such as were lopped off for having rejected Jehovah's long-promised King, Priest, Prophet, the Lord and Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth—the lady had a name which was applied to her at the Persian court, and among the nations of the empire by such as heard of her only as the Queen. This other name was *Hadassah*. By this widely-known court name she is also introduced in the Hebrew record; but the person meant is instantly discovered to her own people by the addition of the words "*that is, Esther*," and the latter name is alone thenceforward used, and is alone the title of the Book.[a]

[a] Esther ii. 7. Gesenius derives the name *Hadassah* from the Hebrew appellative *hadas* הֲדַס "a myrtle;" of which noun, indeed, it is but a feminine form found in the Rabbinical dialect. He supposes it to have been Esther's *first* name; and that *Esther* (which he compares with the Persian *Sitareh*, "a star") was an after-name given to her by her Persian lord. But in that case it would not have been necessary for a Hebrew writer to explain to his Hebrew readers on introducing her by the name of Hadassah, that the person was the same who was known to them as Esther. In the canonical book of Ezra, too, Zorobabel is introduced as *Sheshbazzar;* afterwards, it is only in a letter of Darius's officers to their master that he re-appears under the name of Sheshbazzar. But, as Sir H. C. Rawlinson has observed that even Zorobabel, the name by which he was known to his own people the Jews, is a Babylonian name which he received as born in Babylon from parents who were become more or less Babylonian—in like manner, the name Esther, though given by Jewish parents, is to be compared with the Assyrian *Ishtar* rather than with the Persian appellative *Sitareh;* though the two may perhaps be cognate. Even so *Mordecai* is a name of Assyrio-Babylonian origin derived from the Babylonian *Merodakh*. Dr Wilson of Bombay in his "Lands of the Bible," enumerates Hâdashah as a Samaritan female name, and he notes the absence of the favourite Jewish name Esther from among the names given to their females by the *Beni-Israel* of the Mahratta country: (See *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 2. p. 669). Though we do not think it to our present purpose, we will add his statement that each of the Beni-Israel has generally *two* names,

The remarkable omission of the name Hadassah in the Septuagint version of the book Esther, to whatever due (whether to Greek envy, to Jewish prudence, or merely to a negligence elsewhere displayed by the translators) is the cause, apparently, why Josephus who, as we have seen, knew not of the τέλη *tributes* imposed upon mainland and isles by the king Ahasuerus, knew Ahasuerus's queen by no other name than Esther. The same cause must have operated before his time, as ever since, to conceal the Jewish queen's identity. But Hadassah being plainly the same name which Herodotus and Æschylus have celebrated in the form Atossa, the writer of these pages has always been astonished that while the inference from the identity of Hadassah with Atossa has been disregarded by scholars having access to the Hebrew book or to exacter versions of it, they yet should have argued identity of persons from the similarity, such as it is, of the names Esther and Amestris.

As to the two forms Hadassah and Atossa, for the sake of such as may never have attended to the changes in form which words undergo as they pass from one nation to another, or, (in the same race and country) from one age to another, it may be proper here to observe that the substitution is easy, and to the Greeks congenial, of the hard thin dental consonant T in the Greek form, for the soft dental consonant D in the Hebrew form, of Esther's court name. This change of dentals recurs in another instance which has been frequently before us, the Labynetus of Herodotus, who is the Nabonedus of the Chaldæan historian Berosus.

The signification of Hadassah, as we may learn from Hebrew lexicographers, is "a myrtle" or "a sprig of myrtle;" of which Herodotus has mentioned the Persian or rather the Magian use on more than one great occasion.

one a Hebrew name conferred on the occasion of circumcision which they perform on the appointed eighth day, the other derived from the surrounding Hindûs (as we suppose Esther to have been borrowed from the Babylonians) and bestowed upon the child at about a month from its birth.

When the news reached Susa that Xerxes was master of Athens, "such was the delight of the Persians who remained behind, that they forthwith strewed all the streets with myrtle boughs, and burnt incense, and fell to feasting and merriment." About four months before the success thus celebrated, in the morning when the passage of the Hellespont was about to be begun, whether Magians or no, the masters of the ceremonial "burnt all kinds of spices upon the bridges, and strewed the way with myrtle boughs, while they waited anxiously for the Sun which they hoped to see when he rose." According to Strabo, the flesh of Magian sacrifices, which were made without any burning of them, was placed on myrtle or laurel leaves.

But though the meaning of Hadassah, "Myrtle," be thus obtained from the vocabulary of the Israelite Hebrews, we venture to regard the name itself (no less than Esther, which is *Ishtar*, the Assyrian name of the planet called Venus by the Romans) to have belonged to the language rather of Babylon than of Jerusalem. We do not, indeed, refer it to the language of the Hamite population of Babylon, to the Chaldæan properly so called, which the researches of Sir H. C. Rawlinson and others have revealed. As the word is plainly akin to the speech of Israel, we suppose it not altogether alien to that language of Aram, which Hezekiah's great officers desired the Assyrian envoys to make use of; which the Chaldæan sages spoke to Nebukhadrezzar; which Daniel and Ezra have in part employed in their writings; and which, or a dialect of it (called Chaldæan by Philo the Jew, when the Hamite Chaldæan was perhaps extinct in Babylonia, but called Hebrew in the New Testament) became the language of Jerusalem after the return of her people from Babylon. But yet we think it probable that Hadassah, as a significant name, belonged to that Assyrian language which (to quote later kings of Asshur only) Tiglath-Pilezer, Sargon, Senacherib, Esarhaddon, Asshurbanipal, employed at Nineveh, and which, after the fall of Nineveh, the heirs of Assyrian dominion, such as Nebukhadrezzar and Nabunid, preferred for their inscriptions in Babylon

and other Chaldæan cities. From Josephus's narrative we should conclude that, whether maiden or wife, whether called Esther or Hadassah, the lady of the king's choice passed with Darius for an Assyrio-Babylonian. As such she might well have received from him out of the Assyrian language (the third in his trilingual records or proclamations) a name full of meaning, which had perhaps been borne before by females of the royal house of Hakhàmanish. On the other hand, the name Esther (though probably a common one among the Asshurite and other Shemite populations in the great city Babylon, where queen Esther is said to have been born) being borrowed from the legends and religion of the Assyrians, could neither have been familiar to Darius in his youth nor one which he would regard with partiality in his manhood.[b]

[b] The name Hadassah, or Atossa, is applied by certain Greek writers, not only to princesses descended from Darius and his queen Atossa, but to personages of earlier Persian and even of the Assyrian annals. We have the "Atossa daughter of Ariaspes" mentioned by Hellanicus; and in the pedigree of Cappadocian kings given by Diodorus we have an "Atossa wife of Pharnaces," who appears to have been father's sister to the great Cyrus. See Diodor. Sic. Book xxxi. Fragm. 19 (preserved by Photius); and Hellanicus, Fragm. 163, *a* and *b* in the *Fragmenta Historic. Græcorum* published by Didot of Paris. Besides, though we take Darius's queen Atossa to be Esther, we are not thereby obliged to deny the existence of Herodotus's Atossa daughter of Cyrus who married Cambyses and devolved as part of his "goods and chattels" to his successor the pretended Smerdis.

It is an important feature of the Atossa of Hellanicus, if, being of Aryan birth (which is indicated by her father's name of Ariaspes), she had herself an Assyrian name. According to Hellanicus, she succeeded her father (or rather, as we should suspect, her Assyrian husband) in his kingdom, and (enabled we should suppose, by her Aryan birth and training) she passed for a man. Valorous and warlike, she subdued many nations. It was she (said Greek hypothesis rather than Hellanicus's Oriental information) who first assumed the tiara and wore trowsers, used eunuchs, and answered suits by royal letters or rescripts. Ariaspes, however, seems a national as well as a proper name. See Arrian's Exp. Alex. iii. 27 § 4. Sir H. C. Rawlinson identifies Atossa daughter of Ariaspes with the Babylonian Semiramis of Herodotus, whom again he has been able to recognize in an Assyrian queen who is commemorated along with her husband on a statue of Nebo in the British Museum, and is named *Sammuramit*. Her husband was the

III.

YET though it be granted that the names Hadassah and Atossa are identical, still it will be asked, Do not the persons appear to be different? For Atossa wife of Darius is regarded by Herodotus as a daughter of the great Cyrus, and he identifies her with a certain Atossa daughter of Cyrus who by his account (as well as another daughter of Cyrus who died in child-bed and is called by Ktesias *Rokhshana*) was married to her brother Cambyses; so that with the other women of the house of Cambyses she afterwards became the property of the pretended brother by whom Cambyses was dispossessed of his kingdom; and at last she fell into the hands of Darius when he slew the Magian impostor.

We answer thus, Suppose first, that no good reply to the objection can be produced and that the difficulty must remain unremoved; still, it seems by no means to outweigh the probability of the proof which we have offered, that the Esther or Hadassah of Hebrew Scripture is Atossa the celebrated queen of Darius Hystaspes' son. But we will present our conjecture in which we have much confidence, that "Daughter of Cyrus" was a title appropriated to the Great King's crowned wife, in the reigns at least of Cambyses, of the Magian, and of Darius Hystaspes's son. Such a title would be peculiarly liable to be misunderstood by outsiders for a surname in the case of our Hadassah or Esther, because Darius, though descended like Cyrus (as many others no less than Darius were descended) from Hakhâmanish, could not claim the empire of Cyrus as his by inheritance, but had entitled himself to it by having stood forth as the champion of the Aryan race and of the family of Hakhâmanish, by having slain the usurping

grandson of the king who received presents from Jehu king of Israel, and warred with Hazael king of Damascus. His name, according to Mr Fox Talbot, consists of three elements, the first *Hu* or *Yu*, the god of the sky, the second *Zab* a warrior, the third, uncertain but meaning perhaps *dan* or *idan* "he gave"—"*Yu has given a warrior;*" Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. p. 181. The name Hadassah was known, as well as Esther, to Georg. Syncellus, who writes it Ἐδέσα, p. 440. ed. Dindorf.

Magian and by having overthrown all competitors, thereby making it appear that Auramazda the god of the Aryans had given him the kingdom. This being the true state of the case, there may have been some who would be readily led to think, that his right to the Persian throne rested in part at least on his queen's being a daughter of Cyrus. Again, the real lineage of Hadassah or Esther continued to be unknown even to the king, for five years after her coronation. In obedience to her kinsman Mordecai, she had not revealed her nation and family to Darius, till Haman the Amalekite the king's chief minister had obtained a royal edict for the extermination of the Jews in every province of the empire. Then, indeed, she was compelled to speak out; the duty of pleading for her people, which Mordecai now enforced upon her as the end for which her marriage had been ordained, not permitting any further delay. But, even after this confession, with the downfall of Haman and the deliverance of the Jews which followed it, the fact, though now believed if not known before by the Jews everywhere, would not willingly be credited by others in the provinces. It would be boldly denied even if secretly believed, in most of the countries whence Herodotus derived his information as to Persian history, in Egypt, in the Philistine Syria, in Phœnicia, and perhaps at Babylon.

IV.

To this conjecture, however, regarding the true significance of the term *Daughter of Cyrus*, when applied to Darius's queen Atossa, it may be supposed to be an objection, that the surname or description is applied equally to another of his wives, Artystonè by name, whom he is said to have particularly loved and to have commemorated by a golden image. But Akhshurush, that is, Darius, had two crowned wives in succession, Vashti and Hadassah. And in the case of Artystonè no less than in Atossa's, there appears reason for believing that the addition, Daughter

of Cyrus, was an honour not inherited but bestowed by the favour of Darius. Such a ground of belief we find in the fact related of her, that she was a maiden when Darius married her. For if this maiden was by blood a daughter of Cyrus, it must withal be believed that she became Darius's wife, after the death of her brother Cambyses and in consequence of the bold deed by which in the beginning of B. C. 521 Darius won the throne of Persia and Media and the other provinces; because previously Darius was married to a daughter of the noble Gobryas, according to the same author who has handed us all we know of Artystonè. But at the beginning of B. C. 521 Cyrus had been dead for eight years, and no daughter of his is likely to have been then unwedded yet. But it is a weightier matter of reflection, that one of her sons by Darius was named Gobryas. This suggests the suspicion that (though Herodotus was unaware of the identity) Artystonè was no other than that very daughter of Gobryas who had borne Darius three sons before his accession to the throne in B. C. 521, when he appears to have been twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old. Then, if a daughter of Gobryas married to the king was also called Daughter of Cyrus, it becomes plain that the latter appellation was a title of honour distinguishing the chief wife. Now, this was the rank of Vashti after Darius won the throne, till that fatal feast day, in the third year of his reign, when he deprived her of the privileges of a wife and queen in spite of his love, because he would not brook open contempt of his commands from a daughter of Gobryas who had known him a private man, any more than from Intaphernes who, like her father, had been one of the six with the aid of whom he had slain the Magian impostor.[a] We have inferred that Artystonè was connected

[a] For the case of Intaphernes or Vindafrana, whose name Darius recorded first of the six at Behistun, see Herod. iii. 70, 78, 118, 119. For Artystonè and her son by Darius named Gobryas, and for Darius's wife the daughter of Gobryas with her sons, see the Table above-given of the wives and children of Darius. Possibly, Herodotus's information confounded Intaphernes the Persian with Vi(n)dafrà the Mede under whose

with the house of Gobryas from the fact, that a son of her's by Darius bore the name of Gobryas. Just so, we read that, when a Persian named Bùbares had married Gygæa daughter of Amyntas and sister of Alexander, successively kings of Macedonia, he named a son she bore him, after her father, Amyntas.[b] In like manner, the Anaphas in the pedigree of Cappadocian kings, who cannot have been by male descent of the family of Otanes, and who nevertheless was said to be the Anaphas who (or rather, whose father Otanes) helped to kill the Magian, may have been really son of a daughter of Anaphas son of Otanes.[c]

There is another circumstance which strengthens our suspicion about Artystonè. It is, that Herodotus could not furnish the name of the daughter of Gobryas whom Darius had married in his youth before the extinction of Cyrus's family, the Magian usurpation, and the counter-revolution by which the throne was recovered for the race of Hakhâmanish. The fact that this is the only wife of Darius whom Herodotus describes but cannot name, though she was the only one whose son could dispute his father's inheritance with Xerxes, is easily explained if we suppose the Ionian historian or his informant misled by the title "Cyrus's daughter" applied to Artystonè. Taking this title to be her's in the ordinary sense, he would of course be unable to recognize the daughter of Gobryas in the same Artystonè.

command (according to the Behistun Inscription) Babylon was taken in B. C. 516. Vindafra's name in the Kissian counterpart, as deciphered by Mr Edwin Norris, is Vintaparna, and thus, too, in the same Kissian counterpart, he deciphers the name of Intaphernes in Aryan, Vi(n)dafranâ.

[b] Herod. viii. 136. In Herod. iv. 167 is mentioned, as commander of the land-forces sent against Barka by Aryandes satrap of Egypt, Amasis a Maraphian, that is, a man of the Persian tribe next in dignity to the Pasargadæ, the tribe to which the command of the fleet on the same occasion was entrusted; comp. Herod. i. 125. This Amasis, we may suspect, was on the mother's side an Egyptian; nay, perhaps, he was a grandson of the king of that name whose son and successor was conquered by Cambyses in B. C. 525.

[c] See Diodorus, ap. Phot. Cod. 244 p. 1157=tom. x. p. 20.

But although after our identification of Esther's Ahasuerus with Darius, which seems indisputable, it may be readily allowed that Darius's first wife the daughter of Gobryas was queen Vashti; still, to the identity of this daughter of Gobryas with Artystonè, even allowing it probable that the appellation "Daughter of Cyrus" given to Artystonè was but honorary, a reader might very properly object that Vashti and Artystone are entirely different names. True, but neither is Darius or Darya-vush the same name as Ahasuerus or Akhshurush; Esther is entirely different from Hadassah, Zorobabel from Sheshbazzar, Eliakim from Jehoiakim, Mattaniah from Zedekiah; yet each of these pairs of names designates one and the same person. Again (as we suppose Astyages the Mede to have done before, and as we have proved Darius son of Hystaspes to have done afterwards) so (it would seem from Ezra) Cambyses son of Cyrus surnamed himself Ahasuerus or Akhshurush. It seems, too, that the successor of Cambyses, the pretended Smerdis, son of Cyrus, took the name Artaxerxes. In like manner, the first Artaxerxes of Greek writers, called the Long-armed, is said by Josephus to have been named Cyrus. Darius the Bastard and his son Artaxerxes the Mindful, before they came to the throne, were called, the one Okhus, the other Arsakes. So too, Okhus son of the latter, becoming king, entitled himself Artaxerxes like his father; and Codomannus, succeeding the son of Okhus took the name of Darius. Therefore, we suppose that the daughter of Gobryas, when her husband Darius became king and bestowed upon her the crown of queen, received withal not only the title "Daughter of Cyrus," but a new name, and so was called thenceforth Vashti instead of Artystonè.[d]

[d] As to her new name, *Vashti*, it may not be amiss to compare *Pasht*, the name of the Egyptian goddess of the town named *Pi-beseth* or *Pi-basth* by Ezekiel, xxx. 17, which the Septuagint renders by Herodotus's word *Bubastis* and now represented by *Tel-Basta* or "Mounds of Pasht." We may also cite the name given in the Magian Calendar to the fourth of the five supplementary days yearly added (as in Egypt) to the twelve times thirty month-days. It is *Vahshàt*, or

It is a more serious objection to our suggested identity of Darius's first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, the Vashti of Hebrew record, with his beloved wife Artystonè, that while Herodotus assigns to the daughter of Gobryas but three sons, that were born all of them before their father became king of Persia;—giving in different passages the names of two of them, and to one of them attributing a high naval command and the loss of his life in the service of Xerxes against the Greeks; the historian mentions by other names two sons of Artystonè, both included in his list of those that commanded nations in the land-forces of the Persian invader. The weight of this objection is little

Vahàsht (Hyde, p. 190), which however appears to be a newer and softer form of the more genuine name *Vahukhshâtri*, (Hyde, p. 191.) If so, we obtain an instance here of *khsh* becoming *sh*; which helps our conjecture, propounded below, that the Sanscrit title *Súrésh*, explained to mean "lord of the Sun," and given to the Hindu god Indra, is in an older form *Khshurush*. We may, therefore, here add, that *Surûsh* is the name of the angel of the 17th day of the Magian month; see Hyde, p. 190.

The book Sad-der, a modern epitomé of Magian or Zoroastrian doctrine, seems cited to show, that the angel rulers of the five supplementary days were regarded rather as female than male personages:—a sort of Eumenides. In cap. xli. we read, in Hyde's version; "Quando veniunt Fervardaghân, quantum potes fac epulas, et convivium expiationis cum benedictione. Huic operi assignato decem dies;" (i. e. take five other days besides these five beginning with the twenty-sixth of the previous month, the month Aban, according to the use of the Yezdegherdian period; Hyde, p. 247.) The precept of the book Sad-der proceeds thus, "ut opus gratum sit Creatori. Si quales sint Fervardaghân non nôsti, dicam tibi eas esse quinque beatas sorores quæ nent et texunt et suturas consuunt. Harum una est Ahunavad: alia est Ashtuvad; tertiæ nomen est Esfintamad; quarta est Vahukhshater; quinta est Vahishtûshiyûsh. In Fervardaghân solent celebrare Afrinaghân, quibus animas" (of parents and forefathers, but holding silence the while,) "lætificant. Quando anima vestitum corporis excusserit, tum nuda erit; sed ex istis quinque vestitum reperiet, cum Mundi Creator ita ordinaverit. Domi tuæ dictum convivium instruere melius est." Hyde, p. 473. According to the book *Mu'j*, on the twenty-sixth of Aban and the following days, "Magi solebant pulmenta et alios cibos parare, quos in summis turrium tectis ponentes relinquebant ut Magnatum seu Heroum spiritus sive genii illuc venientes eorumdem nidoribus oblectarentur et reficirentur." Hyde, pp. 247, 248.

impaired, by our supposing one of the two sons of Artystonè to be the unnamed-one of the three sons of Darius by the daughter of Gobryas. For still, the named sons of Darius by Gobryas's daughter, and of Darius by Artystonè, are more in number than the sons of Darius named and unnamed by Gobryas's daughter. They are four; while Herodotus states that Gobryas's daughter bore to Darius three sons.

There are two answers, by either of which this objection may perhaps be plausibly over-ruled. The first is founded upon the fact that the three sons by Gobryas's daughter, and the two sons by Artystonè, furnish altogether but three commanders to the host of many nations led by Xerxes into Europe. Remarking this, we might suspect these three to be the true three sons of Darius by Gobryas's daughter; also, that Artabazanes, who competed for the throne with Xerxes, is to be identified with one of the three whose commands in the host that invaded Europe are specified by Herodotus; probably, with Ariabignes who led the Ionian and Carian fleets, to lose his life in the sea-fight at Salamis, because Plutarch relates that the brother who disputed with Xerxes the succession to Darius's throne, died fighting for Xerxes at Salamis.[e]

[e] If Artabazanes and Ariabignes were the same person, the former name may have been an honorary appellation. In the *Etymologische Forschungen* of Pott, cited by George Rawlinson, "on the derivation and meaning of Median and Persian proper names," at the end of vol. 3 of his Herodotus, this name or Artabarzanes, which (though not a variant offered by any MS) he prefers, after the analogy of Satibarzanes, Barsines, Barzanes, is explained "Very resplendent;" and is derived from *arta* regarded as an intensive prefix, and the Zend *berez* which is the Sanscrit *bhraj* and signifies "resplendent." The Ariabignes and Artabazanes of Herodotus, if identical, combine the features of the Arimenes or Ariamenes of Plutarch, the Artemenes of Trogus Pompeius according to Justin. Arimenes is the name read in Plutarch's *Apophthegms*. Ariamenes, the form printed in Plutarch's *Brotherly Love* and *Life of Themistocles*. If we might take the genuine name intended by Plutarch to have been that of Darius's great-grandfather, the Ariaramnes of Herod. vii. 11. the Ariyárámana of the Behistun Inscription (Col. i. para. 2 of the Aryan) we might further be permitted to remark, that in signification it varies but little from Ariabignes, if we may trust the etymologies of

The other reply which may vindicate our conclusion that the daughter of Gobryas, called Vashti in the book Esther, was Herodotus's Artystonè, is this. Since Herodotus believed the daughter of Gobryas and Artystonè the "daughter of Cyrus" to be different persons, though they were in fact the same; and since the three sons of Darius by Gobryas's daughter were all born (according to him) before Darius became king—it is not contradicting the historian, as to that number of sons, to suppose that one or both of Darius's sons by "Cyrus's daughter" Artystonè were his sons by Gobryas's daughter after she became his queen.

To this second answer there is the objection (not insurmountable, as we shall see) that a fourth son of Darius by Vashti, born after Darius's accession to the throne, being "born in the purple" could have pleaded that title equally with his younger half-brother Xerxes against his three uterine elder brothers. Such a claim in fact was urged afterwards, though unsuccessfully, in behalf of Cyrus, younger son (by Parysatis) of Okhus Darius the Bastard, against Arsakes afterwards Artaxerxes, of whom

Sir H. C. Rawlinson. Its termination *rámana* he refers to the Sanscrit *raman* "a lover," and to the Zend *râman* "pleasure;" while the termination of Ariabignes he derives from the Sanscrit *bhaja* "to serve." As he renders *Ariya* the fore-part "Excellent" (understanding in this place the Excellent One) the names would signify respectively, Excellent-loving and Excellent-serving. Note, that the father of Darius was living after his son's accession to the throne. If Gobryas's daughter was Artystonè, and her three sons were named Ariyàràmana, Arshâma, and Gobryas, we might be led to conjecture that they were all named after deceased progenitors, and if so, to distinguish between Gobryas the father of Darius's first wife and Gobryas (son of Mardonius according to the Behistun Inscription) who helped to slay the Magian. The latter was probably the Gobryas who married Darius's sister and was by her the father of that Mardonius who fell at Platæa; Herod. vii. 5. But we must not wander, self-indulgently and self-deceivingly, from conjecture to conjecture; and as to the identity of Herodotus's Ariabignes son of Darius with Plutarch's Ariamenes son of Darius (which will probably be admitted): even if we read Ariaramenes, error may still be imputed to Plutarch's authority; for Herodotus viii. 90 has an Ariaramnes who took no part in the fight at Salamis but viewed it along with Xerxes, being apparently the king's cousin.

Parysatis had been the mother before her husband unexpectedly won the throne. So that, though Vashti's eldest son could allege seniority only against the eldest son of Esther, a fourth son of Vashti's, born when his father was now king of Persia, would have been able to argue that, while he was son of a king and queen no less than Xerxes, he was moreover older than Xerxes; indeed, the first-born of all that had been born in the purple.

If this were an unanswerable objection to the second proposed method of defending our theory, that Darius's wife the daughter of Gobryas is the same person as his wife Artystonê, we should have to rely entirely upon the former method of defending it. But the objection may be met. It is not improbable that a son of Vashti's, born after his mother's coronation, even before she was degraded, might have been regarded as tainted with his mother's offence and as partaker of her punishment, by the interpreters of a law which involved a son in the treason of his father and slew them both. Indeed, there is some appearance existing that there were not one only, but two contests for the inheritance of Darius Hystaspes' son, in which Xerxes obtained the preference to a son of Darius's by an earlier wife than Esther, Hadassah, or Atossa, the mother of Xerxes.

There is room for the suspicion that Herodotus and the author followed by Plutarch, in their accounts of the suit for the throne of Darius son of Hystaspes, are more accurate where they differ than in the particulars wherein they agree. They may be regarded as possibly more correct in recording different occasions whereon the succession of Xerxes to Darius's kingship was disputed, different names of the rival claimant, different arbitrators, than when, speaking of Xerxes' competitor, the one designates him eldest of all the issue and the other calls him the eldest of the family of Darius.

It is of an earlier occasion that Herodotus speaks, while Plutarch (to whom we must add Trogus Pompeius, according to Justin) records a later trial in which Xerxes obtained a decision in his favour. According to Herodotus,

the aged Darius was on the point of setting forth with his mustered forces, first against Egypt, to quell a revolt, then against Athens, to avenge the defeat of his generals at Marathon, when he was urged to name his successor, according to a law or royal custom on such occasions, which, however, he does not seem to have complied with hitherto, not for instance before his invasion of the Scythians in the old Kimmerian territories north of the Euxine in Europe, when he was himself of less advanced age and his son Xerxes less mature. But now he was urged to decide between the apparent claims of two of his sons, namely Artabazanes, the eldest born to him of the daughter of Gobryas, before (by slaying the Magian) he won the throne of which Cambyses had been dispossessed, and Xerxes the eldest of his sons by Atossa "daughter of Cyrus," born since he had become king of Persia. He pronounced in favour of Xerxes and died before he could accomplish the first of his designs, the recovery of Egypt, whereupon his kingship devolved, as he had settled it, upon Xerxes. Such is Herodotus's account. But Plutarch tells of a dispute which arose after Darius's death, who should have the throne, Xerxes, or another son variously named by our author Arimenes and Ariamenes, whom he describes as being the eldest of Darius's family, πρεσβύτατον ὄντα τῆς γενεᾶς, like as Artabazanes is termed by Herodotus, though with a more antique expression, πρεσβύτατος παντὸς τοῦ γόνου, eldest of all the issue. The story preserved to us from Trogus Pompeius by Justin, so far as it is detailed, agrees with Plutarch's, except in the name of the competitor, in the name of the arbitrator, and in the nature of the assembly in which judgment was pronounced. It was in "the Persians," according to Plutarch, that is, apparently, in a council of nobles and elders who claimed to represent the nation, that the duty of deciding lay. This body appointed Artabanus the late king's brother to be arbitrator of the matter, and his sentence was in favour of Xerxes. According to the perhaps Roman idea of Trogus, the controversy was discussed in privacy, in a sort of family court or council, of which the late king's brother,

named Artaphernes, was judge or president; the right of Xerxes being disputed by an elder half-brother named Artemenes.[a]

Such are the accounts given, by Herodotus on the one hand, and by Plutarch and Trogus Pompeius on the other. They might lead one at times to suspect that the claim of Xerxes was disputed twice by different half-brothers, both

[a] Herodotus acknowledges not only Artabanus brother of Darius, Herod. iv. 83. vii. 10, 46, 82, but also Artaphernes who was (like Darius) son of Hystaspes but not a son of the same mother. Herod. v. 25. It is worthy of remark as a possible source of confusion between the two persons, that the names are of like meaning, if they are right who render *pana* (the terminating element of the first) "protecting" from *pâ* "to protect" and *frana* (which the Behistun Inscription shows us to have been the genuine Persian for φερνης the latter portion of the second name) also "protecting," from *pri* Sanscrit "to protect." Perhaps the whole of each name signifies "Honoured protector," but it has been rendered "Fire-protecting;" see the article "on the derivation and meaning of the proper names of the Medes and Persians," at the end of G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 3. The following is Trogus's account, as given with perhaps little or no abbreviation by Justin, who has certainly left a conjunctive expression of his original, which connects with nothing in his poor epitome. It is the first word Interea. He writes; "Interea et Darius, quum bellum" (after his defeat at Marathon) "instauraret, in ipso apparatu decedit, relictis multis filiis et in regno et ante regnum susceptis. Ex his Artemenes maximus natu ætatis privilegio regnum sibi vindicabat, quod jus et ordo nascendi et natura ipsa gentibus dedit. Porro Xerxes controversiam non de ordine sed de nascendi facilitate" (Query, *felicitate*) "referebat. Namque Artemenem primum quidem Dario, sed privato provenisse; se regi primum natum. Fratres itaque suos qui antè geniti essent, privatum patrimonium quod eo tempore Darius habuisset, non regnum sibi vindicare posse; se esse quem primum in regno jam rex pater sustulerit. Huc accedere quod Artemenes non patre tantum sed et matre privatæ adhuc fortunæ, avo quoque materno privato, procreatus sit; se vero et matre reginâ natum et patrem non nisi regem vidisse; avum quoque maternum Cyrum se regem habuisse non hæredem sed conditorem tanti regni; et si in æquo jure utrumque fratrem pater reliquisset, materno tamen se jure et avito vincere. Hoc certamen concordi animo ad patruum suum Artaphernem veluti ad domesticum judicem deferunt; qui, domi cognitâ causâ, Xerxem præposuit; adeoque fraterna contentio fuit ut nec victor insultaverit nec victus doluerit; ipsoque litis tempore invicem munera miserint; jucunda quoque inter se non solûm, sed credula convivia, habuerint; judicium quoque ipsum sine arbitris, sine convicio fuerit." Justin ii. 10.

sons of his father by Vashti the daughter of Gobryas, and that their several claims, as eldest-born of all Darius's male issue, and as eldest of all that had been born to Darius after he became king of a wife who had received the crown of queen, were in turn rejected. The argument in favour of Xerxes, that his parents were king and queen when he was born, is attested by our Greek authorities. That it was an argument of weight appears from the fact, that it was attempted on this ground, after the death of Okhus Darius the Bastard, to prefer Cyrus the younger to Arsakes the elder son, though Parysatis queen-widow of Darius was mother of them both. But what might make the argument prevail in the case of Xerxes, we learn from the Hebrew book Esther. It is the fact, that the mother of Xerxes' elder brothers, whether born before their mother wore the crown of queen or afterwards, had been degraded from her high estate; to which we add from our Greek authors, that the mother of Xerxes preserved her rank and favour with the king to the day of his death.

V.

In a former chapter the grossness of the libel which identifies Esther with Amestris the queen of Xerxes was illustrated by the extant stories of Amestris, indicating that violent and sanguinary as well as sensual character so common in the absolute mistresses of Asiatic harems, and of which we have another instance in Parysatis.

Now, nothing like the recorded deeds or devices of Parysatis and Amestris, is told of Darius Hystaspes' son's queen Atossa. Her great influence, indeed, her power to command evil or to command good, is attested by Herodotus where he discovers his own opinion about the suit between Xerxes and Artabazanes, that, without the arguments urged to justify the decision, Darius would have made Xerxes his heir. As the ground of his belief he cites the fact, that Atossa had the entire sway.[a] Still, his informants had not been able to furnish him with the story of any crime of hers,

[a] Herod. vii. 3.

wherewith he might have diversified his work. He viewed her, it would appear, as not unlike the figure which Æschylus made her exhibit in his drama "the Persians." But we will here insert Plutarch's whole account[b] of the contest, whether the same spoken of by Herodotus or another, between her son Xerxes and a son of Darius's by a former wife, which of them should succeed their father on his throne, because of the brief notice contained in it of Atossa's behaviour on the occasion. It is a conduct well befitting the Esther whose maiden and early married life are touched in the Hebrew book which bears her name. It is the calm wisdom and the dignified self-command of a widowed queen whose years now exceeded middle age.

"On the death of Darius," says Plutarch, "some demanded that Ariamenes should be king, who was the eldest of the family, others Xerxes, both because his mother Atossa was daughter of Cyrus, and because he was born of Darius when now king. Therefore Ariamenes, on his side, came down from Media,[c] not in manner of war, but, as for a trial at law, quietly. On the other hand, Xerxes, who was on the spot, transacted the matters that belonged to the kingly quality, but, on his brother's arrival, first having laid aside the 'diadema,' and having lowered his tiara which such as are kings wear upright,[d] he met him and saluted him, and sending him gifts, bade those that carried them say, Thy brother Xerxes honours thee now

[b] Plutarch, *De fraterno amore* § 18.

[c] ἐκ Μήδων. But in the *Apophthegms of kings and captains* our author says ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς.

[d] The common head-gear of the Parsis of India, which slants from the perpendicular backward, might be thought a model of the kind of tiara which Xerxes assumed on his brother's arrival. The *tiara directa*, as assigned by medals of the time of the first Augustus of Rome to Phraates king of the Parthians, may be seen in Hyde, *De Relig. Vet. Pers.* fronting p. 384 of the second edition. Hyde also gives the figure of a Parthian soldier with bow and spear and the *tiara reflexa*. Compare likewise the different head-gear of the king and of one who kisses the king's feet, in an engraving of one face of the Nimrûd obelisk prefixed to p. 401 in Journal R. A. S. vol. xii. All four faces are given in Mr Layard's first series of drawings of the monuments of Nineveh. On the "Birds" of Aristophanes v. 487, there is a scholium

with these; but, if he shall be proclaimed king by the judgment and vote of the Persians, his gift to thee is that thou be second after himself; *δευτέρῳ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν εἶναι.* Also Ariamenes said, For my part I accept the gifts, but the quality of King of Persia I deem mine own: however, the honour after me I will reserve for my

which cites Cleitarchus, one of Alexander's companions, on this subject. We borrow it from Dübner's Scholia in Aristophanem, published by Didot, where we find it fullest.

Τοῦτο ἐξ ἱστορίας εἴληφε· πᾶσι γὰρ Πέρσαις ἐξῆν τὴν τιάραν φορεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀρθὴν, ὡς Κλείταρχος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ· μόνοι δὲ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ὀρθαῖς ἐχρῶντο.

There are added, but not in the Ravenna MS, what seem to be words of Cleitarchus's,

Τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς κίδαριν

(not *κυρβασίαν* the poet's word)

ἔστι δὲ αὕτη καθὰ προείπομεν τιάρα· τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔθος καὶ ἐπτυγμένην καὶ προβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ἔχειν· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσιν ὀρθήν.

Compare Xenophon Anab. ii. 5 § 23; Cyrop. viii. 3. § 13. At Sûsia in the country of Areia (the modern *Herat*) Alexander receives the news that he who had slain Darius

Βῆσσον τήν τε τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν [?] στολὴν φορεῖν τα, Ἀρταξέρξην τε καλεῖσθαι ἀντὶ Βήσσου καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας.

So Arrian, Exp. Alex. iii. 25 § 3. That for *Περσικὴν* however, we should read *βασιλικὴν*, as reason dictates, we have the authority of Curtius vi. 21. in these words, "Namque Bessus, veste regiâ susceptâ, Artaxerxen appellari se jusserat." Between Arrian and Curtius we have another instance here to add to the changes of name on accession to the Persian throne, which we mentioned above p. 188. Again, when Alexander returned from India to Pasargadæ, his satrap of Media, Atropates, brought before him a Mede who had been arrested;

ὅτι ὀρθὴν τὴν κίδαριν περιθέμενος, βασιλέα προσεῖπεν αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων.

Arrian, vi. 29 § 3. As above by the Scholiast, so here and also apparently in Arrian iv 7. § 4, the term *κίδαρις* is made co-extensive with the term *tiara*. In a passage to be cited below, it is confined to the special meaning of the royal tiara. The tiara is called by the homely term *κυρβασία* by Aristagoras the Milesian in his speech to the Spartans, Herod. v. 49; and so the comic poet Aristophanes calls it in the lines, the scholium on which has been cited. Hearing that in the olden time when the birds were kings, before men were ruled by the gods, the cock ruled over all the Persians, Euelpides suggests,

Διὰ ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἴσχων καὶ νῦν ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας διαβιβάσκει
Ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν κυρβασίαν τῶν ὀρνίθων μόνος ὀρθὴν.

As to the *διάδημα* with which the royal tiara was bound, Curtius (vi. 20) tells us, that Alexander after Darius's death "purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale Darius habuerat, capiti circumdedit." Compare Diodorus xvii. 77 § 5. Before this, Curtius (iii. 7) describing Darius's dress, had written, "Cidarim Persæ vocabant regium capitis insigne. Hoc cærulea fascia albo distincta circumibat." According to Xenophon

brothers; and for Xerxes first of my brothers. When the time of the judgment came, the Persians by joint resolve appointed Artabanus judge, who was brother of Darius; Xerxes demurred to having the cause tried before him, counting on the majority; but Atossa his mother rebuked him, saying, 'Why dost thou demur, my son, to Artabanus, when he is an uncle and the prime man of the Persians? and why art thou so afraid of a contest wherein

(Cyrop. viii. 3 § 13) the king's συγγενεῖς who in the army defeated by Alexander at Issus, formed a body of 15,000 men (Curtius iii. 7) all wore a διάδημα about their tiara. Compare in Esther vi. 8, the clause omitted in the Septuagint version about the *kether*, translated διάδημα in Esther i. 11 and ii. 17. As the word *kether* (used only in the book Esther) is akin to the Hebrew verb *káthar* "circumdedit," and yet (as remarked by Gesenius) is identical with κίτταρις or κίδαρις, we may conclude that the term was Assyrian, and (perhaps along with that which it designated) had been inherited by the kings of Persia. It may be suspected that the term applied properly, not to the entire head-dress of the Assyrian monarchs, which is to be seen in both an older and a newer type from the N. W. Palace at Nimroud and from Kouyunjik, engraved p. 320 vol. 2, of Layard's "*Nineveh and its remains*," but only to the διάδημα which was worn not only upon the tiara but round the hair of the otherwise uncovered head. See the engraving of a Lion-hunt from the N. W. palace Nimroud, in Layard's *Nineveh &c.*, facing p. 77 of vol. 2.; where the hunter wears the mere "diadema," and his charioteer has no head-dress whatever. That the hunter is the king, we conclude from the figure on the forehead of the "diadema," which appears to represent *the Sun*, for it is seen on the "diadema" that binds the royal tiara. For the "diadema" worn by a king on the otherwise uncovered head, see also the heads of Parthian monarchs Nos. 3 and 4 in plate 15, vol. 1, of Hope's "Costumes of the ancients." With the "diadema" thus worn, compare the solitary head-band worn by the Kissians on the Assyrian sculptures, according to G. Rawlinson, Herod. vol. 4 p. 61. Such a head-band he supposes Herodotus to intend by the μίτρα which he ascribes to the Kissians; vii. 62; to the kings of Cyprus; vii. 90, and to the Babylonians; i. 195. No royal tiara is worn by the figure of Darius either on the rock sculpture at Behistun or over his tomb at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, if we may trust the drawing of the former engraved in vol. 10. of the R. A. S.'s. Journal, and that of the latter engraved in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 4, and in Hope's "Costumes of the Ancients." The common tiara described by Cleitarchus as περιβάλλουσα ἐς τὸ μέτωπον is to be seen in some of the Persepolitan figures, given by Hope, by G. Rawlinson, and, from Sir Robert Ker Porter and from the British Museum, by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians* vol. 1. p. 368.

the second likewise is a splendid prize, to be called brother of the king of Persia?' Xerxes, therefore, having been persuaded, and speeches having been made, Artabanus gave sentence that the quality of King belonged to Xerxes. Whereupon Ariamenes straightway jumped up and προσεκύνησε, worshipped, kissed the ground before his brother; then, taking him by the right hand, he seated him on the royal chair. Thenceforward he was greatest at his side, and showed himself well-affected, so much so that he behaved most gallantly in the sea-fight at Salamis, and fell in behalf of the other's glory." [e]

[e] The conclusion of the story in the "Apophthegms," where Plutarch tells it more briefly, is, that on Artabanus's sentence being pronounced, "Arimenes" straightway worshipped, and put the diadem on his brother; ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης ἐκείνῳ τὴν διυτέραν μιθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔδωκε τάξιν.

Plutarch tells us (Vit. Themistoclis § 14) that in the part of the fight off Salamis where Themistocles and the Athenians were engaged, was Xerxes' admiral Ariamenes, who in a tall ship, shot his arrows and darted his javelins as from a fortress. At last, when his and an Athenian galley had run in upon one another, prow to prow, and were fast locked together, he boarded the Athenian; but Ameinias of the Dekelian and Sosikles of the Pedian demus, or town-ship, withstood him, and with stroke of spears cast him into the sea. Here his body, as it floated amid the wrecks, was recognized by Artemisia, who brought it to Xerxes. Herodotus testifies, that the king's brother, whom he names Ariabignes, commanded the Ionians and Carians; vii. 97; that Artemisia commanded five ships in the Dorian contingent; vii. 99; which may well be supposed to be included in the Carian fleet committed to Ariabignes's command, if he had but three associates in the command of the whole fleet. Moreover, Herodotus intimates that Artemisia had Athenians opposed to her, and Carians alongside, in the battle; viii. 87. 93. He records the death of Ariabignes; viii. 89. Nevertheless he tells us, that the Phœnicians were opposed to the Athenians, and the Ionians to the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians holding the wing to the west on the side of Eleusis, and the Lacedæmonians the wing to the east and toward the Peiræus; viii. 85. He is confirmed in part by Æschylus; for he says that Ameinias the Athenian began the fight, and Æschylus relates that the ship first attacked was a Phœnician; Pers. verse 405. The Ameinias who began the engagement and (with another named Eumenes) gained the prize of valour (Herod. viii. 84, 93) is said by Diodorus (who calls him brother of the poet Æschylus) to have attacked the admiral's ship of the Persians, to have sunk her, and to have killed the admiral; Diodor. xi. 27. But Herodotus's Ameinias is described as of Pallene, whereas Plutarch's Ameinias is of Dekeleia.

CHAPTER X.

I.

In the dispute about the succession to their father's throne, between Xerxes and Darius's eldest son by his first wife the daughter of Gobryas, much stress is laid upon the fact that the mother of Xerxes was Daughter of Cyrus, both in the account which Herodotus gleaned in the reign of Artaxerxes son of Xerxes and in that which Plutarch's reading furnished him with. This seems at first to militate against our conclusion, that the Atossa of Herodotus, Æschylus, Plutarch, is the Hadassah, that is Esther, of the Hebrews. But against this objection we have contended, that Daughter of Cyrus was not a name of birth-right but a title denoting the crowned wife of a Persian monarch, a successor of Cyrus. It was an argument of much account, it is plain, with some of Herodotus's informants, (and the like of it was afterwards used, as, on Ktesias's authority, we have already remarked, against Artaxerxes Mnemon in behalf of his younger brother Cyrus) that Xerxes was the son of a King and of a Queen, not, as was his competitor, of a man afterwards king and of a mother who was also a private person then, whether she afterwards became queen or not.

However, if Daughter of Cyrus be, as we suppose, a title, there is an ambiguity in it. When this is exposed, it will appear that the designation might be more appropriately applied than we have hitherto supposed. Ktesias relates that Parysatis the wife of Okhus Darius (called *Nothus* or "Bastard" by the Greeks) bore her husband, after his accession to the throne, a son who received the name of Cyrus. The prince is meant, just now alluded to, and so well known to us by the expedition to dethrone his brother, in which the 10,000 Greeks were his most formidable force, and the history of which with the successful retreat of the Greek mercenaries, one of their leaders Xenophon has written. Of this Cyrus Ktesias, according to Photius, asserted that his name (Κῦρος) signified *the Sun.* Plutarch has perhaps given us a fuller account of what Ktesias wrote, or he has modified it to make it more complete and plausible. In his life of Cyrus's elder brother Arsakes Artaxerxes, the Mnemon of the Greeks, he writes; "This Cyrus had the name from the old Cyrus, but the other got it, they say, from the Sun; for that the Persians call the Sun Cyrus, (Κῦρος)." And we might pursue this rational method a little further, since in the line of the descent of the great Cyrus from Akhæmenes, we remark two ancestors of his, bearing the same name of Cyrus, who, we may suppose, were included among the eight kings of the Akhæmenian family that (according to the Behistun inscription) had reigned before Darius son of Hystaspes. To the case of the earliest of these, we might put back the most particular allusion to the luminary who seems to be the Ruler and the Creator's representative in the sky; though certainly before the king of Persia was become a chief among kings, a king of kings, he was not so fitly entitled a Sun upon earth. But this old comparison between the Persian king of kings on earth and the Sun in the heavens, is intimated when the historians of the Macedonian conquest tell us, that Alexander rejected all compromise with the last Darius saying, "that the earth

could not endure two Suns, nor could Asia two kings."[a] By the modern Persians the Sun has been styled King of kings in heaven, King of the East, King of the West, King of Mid-day. Very similar are some expressions in the Hebrew Scriptures. For example, in the Psalms the heavenly luminary visible to mortal eyes is made an image of the True Light, our Lord Jesus Christ.[b] And the Prophet Isaiah, who lived at Jerusalem in the fourth generation before the earliest *known* Cyrus of the Akhæmenian family among the Persians, when of כורש (which with the Rabbinical punctuation is *Koresh*) he foretells what we find accomplished in the histories of Daniel and Ezra,—makes him therein a type of God's Christ at His second advent.[c]

II.

THE royalty of the Sun in Egyptian thought, and the allusions to that luminary in their names and titles of kings, is a branch of the subject on which we must say something, (though we cannot look deep into it) for illustration. The title rendered Φαραὼ and Pharaoh (from the Hebrew פַּרְעֹה) one common to all the olden native kings of Egypt and (according to Sir H. C. Rawlinson) written Pirhù in the annals of Sargon king of Assyria, has been derived by Sir J. G. Wilkinson and others[d] from *Pi-re* of the

[a] See Plut. Apophth. Alex. ii; Diod. xvii. 54; Justin. xi. 12. In camp, says Curtius iii. 7, "Super tabernaculum (Regis Darii), unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago Solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat." We have before observed that the diadema which binds the tiara of the kings of Assyria appears to have an image of the Sun on the forehead.

[b] Psalm xix. 4–6. compare Isai. xl. 22, Malachi iv. 2, the Apocalypse i. 16. x. 1.

[c] Isai. chapp. xliv, xlv.

[d] In his appendix to the second book of Herodotus, Sir J. G. Wilkinson ascribes the first suggestion of this etymology to the Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Felix. See G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2. p. 293.

Theban, or *Phra* of the Memphian dialect of primitive Coptic, a term which signifies "*The-Sun.*" Though this etymology has been disputed, we may at least believe Sir J. G. Wilkinson when he tells us that, Every king of Egypt had for the first name which entered into the composition of his own fore-name the name of the Sun; moreover that he had the title "Son of the Sun" preceding his phonetic name; while this latter name itself in the case of many, began with the name *Re*, as in Remeses.[e] In the Greek portion of the inscription on the Rosetta stone,[f] the ordinary student may find a Greek king of Egypt, Ptolemy Epiphanes, among other epithets which precede his proper name, styled "*King as the Sun,*" "*To whom the Sun gave victory,*" "*Living Image of Zeus* (or according to the Egyptian text, of *Amun*[g])" "*Son of the Sun.*" This last, be it noted, is said to have been a title, or patronymic, of each of the line of Incas, who reigned in Peru, before the Spanish conquest.

As the ancient titles which we have cited from the Rosetta Stone, were bestowed upon kings of Egypt belonging to the Greek dynasty, the Ptolemies, descendants of Lagus, so had they before been bestowed by the long-descended native priesthood on kings of the Persian dynasties in Egypt. In the case of two monarchs belonging to the first of these dynasties, the twenty-seventh in Manetho's record, the fact appears from existing monuments. Cambyses the conqueror of Egypt, received the title of Pharaoh, with the Egyptian *fore-name* "Remesot," that is, Born of the Sun, added to his proper

[e] See Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, second Series, vol. 1 pp. 287–289; and first Series, vol. 1. p. 43: with the author's former works there referred to.

[f] The Greek Inscription edited and annotated by M. Letronne, is subjoined to the first volume of the *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum* published by MM. Didot of Paris. The Rosetta stone itself is in the British Museum.

[g] M. Letronne in his eighteenth note affirms that the Egyptian text has *Ammon* instead of Ἄμμ. Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us, "Osiris, Amun, and Noum, though so unlike, were each supposed by the Greeks (*i. e.* by different Greek authors) to answer to Jupiter (*i. e.* Ζεύς.) See G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2. p. 297.

name, *Kambath*, according to the old custom whereby two ovals or royal names were given to each king.[h] But what is perhaps even more exactly to our present purpose is the fact, that the husband of Atossa, Darius son of Hystaspes, is styled "Son of the Sun" on an Egyptian monument.[i] The principal part of the large temple in the great Oasis was built in his reign and bears his ovals with the same honorary titles which were granted to the ancient sovereigns of the country.[j]

We must be careful to add, that in the case of a female possessing the supreme power in Egypt, the title "Son of the Sun" was accommodated to her sex. It became "Daughter of the Sun." This we learn from the particular example of the female regent, whether wife or elder sister of Thothmes II and Thothmes III, kings belonging to the eighteenth dynasty.[k] If Pharaoh signifies really "The Sun," we should be glad to know whether this title was given, accommodated, or withheld, in the case of a female sovereign of Egypt.

The honour thus bestowed in Egypt upon their kings, whereby they were styled perhaps "The Sun," and certainly "Son of the Sun" or "Daughter of the Sun" according to the difference of sex, was enjoyed by them in common with their gods. Nephthys (says Sir J. G. Wilkinson) is called daughter of Re ("Sun") in the same building where she is allowed to be *sister of Isis*. Nephthys was really, according to Egyptian story, the

[h] See Sir J. G. Wilkinson in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2, p. 390.

[i] See *Egypte, par M. Champollion Figeac*, p. 379. The goose of the Nile, the emblem of Seb or Saturn, in hieroglyphics signifies *a son;* because the phonetic initial of its name is *s* which, with a line, sounds *se*, that is, "son." This hieroglyph, the goose, occurs over the "nomens" (*i. e.* I suppose, the second ovals containing the proper names) of Pharaohs, with the Sun, signifying "*Son of the Sun.*" So Sir J. G. Wilkinson in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2. p. 121, note g.

[j] See Sir J. G. Wilkinson in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2, p. 390; and in *Manners &c. of Ancient Egypt*, first Series, vol. 1, p. 199.

[k] See Champollion-Figeac's *Egypte*, pp. 304–308: where, however, much may perhaps be more correctly represented by Sir J. G. Wilkinson in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2, pp. 356, 357.

fifth of the children of *Seb* (Saturn) and *Netpe;* and thus sister of *Osiris*, of *Aroeris* (the elder Horus) of *Seth* (who is Typhon) and of *Isis* the wife and sister of Osiris. Therefore, Daughter of Re or Sun's Daughter would seem to be merely a title. We are told that this name of the Sun, "Re," is appended to the names of other gods—(that is, other gods assume his name, or surname themselves after him, as Amun when he is called Amun-Re) and that several deities are called sons or daughters of Re. Thus *Themi*, *Mei*, or *Ma*, in her twofold character of truth and justice, is called Daughter of Re; the goddess *Athor*, who is called Daughter of Re or the sun, is likewise regarded as his wife, for she forms the second member of his principal triad; and as the West or goddess of the place of the setting sun, she is pourtrayed receiving the Sun into her arms.[1]

It must be added, that—while *Re* or *Ra* (written by the Hebrews in the proper names Potipherah and Rameses, רַע) is said to signify the sun in old Coptic or Egyptian, and by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, to be found in cuneiform bilingual vocabularies or glossaries, as the Chaldæan, that is, Hamite equivalent at Babylon of the Assyrian, that is Shemite, *El*, which signifies *God*—we learn from the celebrated African missionary Livingstone that *Ma* and *Ra* in the language of the Bechuanas of South Africa mean respectively "Mother" and "Father." On one occasion, a large halo about twenty degrees in diameter around the Sun he found to be regarded by the Barotse as a council of gods, or departed spirits, having the Lord in the midst.[m] We may conjecture that the Sun was

[1] See Sir J. G. Wilkinson in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2, pp. 291–295.

[m] Livingstone's *Travels*, p. 126; comparing for the meaning of the word *picho* (a council) pp. 228, 245; also for the story of the halo, p. 219; and for illustration thereof, pp. 331, 641, 642, also, 605, 607, 608, 605, 567 559. A custom, not found among the Bechuanas, prevails among the black tribes beyond. They watch for the first glimpse of the new moon, and, catching it, cry *Kuā;* and vociferate petitions, p. 235. These may still be prayers, at an ordained and lucky time, rather than prayers to the new moon. As to the synonymousness of *Ra* and *Il*, see Sir H. C. Rawlinson in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. i. p. 589. He adds

originally entitled Ra by the Egyptian Hamites as κατ' ἐξοχήν God and Father.

The old Egyptian usage respecting their gods and kings, throws light on, and itself is illustrated by, the conduct of the Arabs termed for their religion Sabæan. These owned, it is said, of old one God to Whom, like the Mahommedan Arabs now, they daily concluded their prayers at Sun-rise, at Mid-day, and at Sunset. But they also worshipped as "the companions of God," the stars fixed and planetary,—or the Intelligences whom they supposed to reside therein. These, with their images, they called "Daughters of God" and "goddesses."[n] Reverting to the oldest view of the sun among the Egyptians, which was perhaps specially seated at On or Heliopolis, let us remark that if it made the sun to be Ra, that is (as we conjecture) "father," thereby ordaining the sun to be the great Image of the One God, while other descendants of Ham, as in Babylonia, made Saturn to be *Il*, that is, God, the Egyptians were not influenced solely by the glorious appearance of the Lord of day. They may have known the Sun to be the centre of that system of planets to which this earth belongs, and for this may have held it to be a most proper image, if not the actual dwelling place of God. On the other hand, to the Chaldæan Hamites, as the remotest visible planet of the system, Saturn may have seemed the most proper temple or image which they could assign to God, whether they supposed the earth or the sun to be the centre of the planetary spheres; particularly as through the prophet Moses we know the seventh day, the day of the seventh or Saturn's sphere, to have been God's day by His own appointment, since man was first planted upon the earth.

Such a controversy among the descendants of Cush and Mizraim, in Chaldæa and in Egypt, whether the planet Saturn or the luminary of day was most to be worshipped

Sanchoniathon's assertion, that Ἶλος was Κρόνος (the Greek counterpart of the Roman Saturn); but he remarks that in all the Semitic languages the term *Il* has been ever used to signify "god" generally.

[n] See Sale's *Introduction* to his translation of Mahomet's *Koran*.

as El or Il and Re or Ra, as God and Father, would account for the Egyptian story of the Sun being entitled to dispute with Seb or Saturn the paternity of the children of the goddess Netpe, namely Osiris, Aroeris, Seth, Isis and Nephthys, some or all of them.° The mystical character of Osiris among the children of Misraim seems to have been derived from that primitive revelation to man, of which certain portions were put on record through the pen of Moses for the sake of Israel and ultimately of all nations. It was a revelation mainly of a coming Seed of woman, a Redeemer. This Redeemer we know; and we know Him not only man but the only-begotten Son of God, and He may have been thus described in promises of which we have no record, or no complete record in the books of Moses. If so, and if there was a controversy among the descendants of Cush and Mizraim, sons of Ham, as to the claims of Saturn and the Sun, to be, or to represent, the one God,—the corrupted ideal of the promised Redeemer, the Osiris of the old Egyptians, would be diversely regarded among the children of Ham as son of Saturn and son of the Sun.

III.

But though "child of the Sun" was one of Darius's royal titles on Egyptian monuments, and would have been Atossa's in the same public position in that country had she been sovereign in her own right, not borrowing lustre from another, it remains doubtful, whether the titles (which we might suppose established during the reign of the Magian or which we might refer to the previous practice of Assyrians, Chaldæans, Medo-Persians or Kissians) were employed, even orally, at Susa. Unable, then, to prove in a conclusive manner that the crowned consort of Darius had in Persian speech the title "Daughter of the Sun," we will nevertheless add something to illustrate the probability. About 900 years after Darius son of Hystaspes, we have the Persian

° Plutarch de Isid. et Osirid. § 12.

monarch, the Sassanian Shahpoor, writing to the Roman emperor in this style;[a] "Rex regum Sapor, particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunæ, Constantio fratri meo salutem plurimum dico."

It seems doubtful what is signified here by "particeps siderum"—whether partner in the stars with Sun and Moon, or sharer, κοινωνὸς, with the stars in their prerogative and power. Earth and Sky may be likened to a floor vaulted with a lofty overhanging dome or cupola, a vast mansion in which the Sun is Master and Father; the really or seemingly lesser luminaries, the stars, are children, and we are subjects.[b] Thus the Sun and moon and eleven stars, of which Joseph dreamt in "the land of the Hebrews," before he was carried into Egypt, his father surnamed Israel understood at once to denote the dreamer's eleven brethren, his father and his father's only-surviving wife.[c] But, we have noted it already, the Son of God Himself Who as son of man by His Incarnation is become the true Israel of which Jacob was but a type, is compared by the God-inspired word to that greater Light, the Ruler of the day, at the creation of which He was present and engaged. Again by S. James, God is called "the Father of lights."[d] As there is a visible heaven, the sky, peopled with its sun and stars, so there is an invisible heaven of the Father's Only-begotten, in Whom the Father also is visible, our Lord Jesus Christ and of His saints.[e] As the one heaven is to the other, so is the host of the one to the host of the other.[f] And as

[a] Ammianus Marcellinus . . . Comp. the Indian king who at a banquet of Brahmans tells Apollonius of Tyana that, though no philosopher, he is *one with the Sun*. See Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana in an article on the Indian travels of Apollonius by Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx, Esq. Journal R. A. S. vol. 17.

[b] Comp. Psalm. xix and Isai. xl. 22.

[c] Genesis xxxvii. 9, 10. For that expression "the land of the Hebrews," see Gen. xl. 15.

[d] S. James i. 17.

[e] Compare Psalm cxlviii. 2, 3.

[f] For the first of these two hosts, see Gen. ii. i, Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3, Job xxxi. 26, 27; Psalm xxxiii. 6; Isai. xl. 26. For the second, see Job xxxviii. 7, Psalm ciii. 19–22.

the Spirit-host together with the Righteous of mankind from the earth, are called Sons of God,[g] so may the material host, which consists of the lesser looking lights of heaven, serve as figures of children, servants, brethren, in short, a family, whereof the Head is figured properly by what is to our eyes the greatest light of all, namely the body from which our own globe and its fellow planets derive all their light at home and their lustre abroad.[h] With reference to this visible exhibition, those whom God has adopted from among men for sons, are called "children of Light,"[i] and "stars."[j] Herein the God and Father is tacitly likened to the light, just as the Only-begotten of the Father is called the True Light and the Sun of Righteousness, terms which mark at once the likeness and the unlikeness of the two subjects of comparison.[k]

As when we cited Sapor's titles so now, desiring to illustrate the probability of our conclusion, that of the wives of Darius Hystaspes' son, both Artystonè and Atossa (that is, both Vashti as we think and Hadassah or Esther) being in turn crowned wives, were successively graced with the title "Daughter of the Sun," we may also refer to the titles still given in China to the sovereign of that great and most ancient empire. In a memorial addressed to him in our year 1859 by the Mongolian prince Sangkolinsin against the policy of negotiating for peace with any of the four barbarian races, to wit, the Northern, Eastern, Western and Southern, the emperor is styled "Sacred son of Heaven." And here let the remark be permitted, that in other respects the long-inherited practices and principles of the Chinese Empire may perchance help us to form correcter notions of by-gone Asiatic powers. Thus, in respect of that claim of universal dominion, made by kings of Persia in their extant inscriptions and acted upon in their foreign wars, we find a resemblance to the theory of the power of China. In the war with that power

[g] For this compare Job i. 6. with 1 Kings xxii. 19; S. Luke ii. 13–15.
[h] See Gen. i. 14–19.
[i] As by S. Paul in Ephes. v. 8.
[j] As in Daniel xii. 3.
[k] Malachi iv. 2; S. John i. 9.

in 1860 when Sangkolinsin not only gave counsel but commanded the Tartar forces, after our distinguished countryman Mr Parkes had been treacherously entrapped by the Chinese, at one of his examinations before a board of Inquisitors, we find him giving high offence by using a term of the Chinese language for the queen of England denoting her equality in rank with the Emperor of China, whose forces had been ludicrously beaten. He was told, that having been long in China, he must know that there is *but one Emperor*, who rules over all lands; and he ought to communicate this knowledge to his countrymen, not encourage their extravagant notions as he had done. In the roll of names hung against his prison-wall, Mr Parkes was returned as "a rebel." And we find him telling Hang-ki, the assistant of the two imperial commissioners, that the refusal of China to admit the principle of equality in its relations with foreign countries, is the source of all its troubles with the English and French: whose armies otherwise would not have been seen within the borders of the empire; and to whom otherwise, indemnities would not have had to be paid. Moreover, the financial organization of the Chinese empire whereby each province has its own treasury into which are paid taxes from the interior, tolls and customs from the frontiers of the province; while out of it, the cost of the provincial administration in all its branches is defrayed, and the tribute or subsidy of the province is remitted to the Imperial exchequer—this perhaps is nearly the same as the Persian financial system, as settled by Darius son of Hystaspes.[1] One more observation. It is said, that the Chinese monarchs before they ascend the throne, change the name borne by them till then, for another. Accordingly, when in 1850 though

1 See the "Homeward Mail" newspaper 11 Nov. 1859, quoting from the "China Herald." For the four barbarian races of the Chinese, see Sir J. Bowring's *Kingdom and People of Siam*, vol. 1 p. 75 note. Also, for Mr Parkes's report of what passed during his imprisonment, the "Guardian" of 2 Jan. 1861. For the Chinese financial system, see "Revue des deux mondes," tom. xxiv. p. 592, (1 Dec. 1859 Art. La diplomatie Anglaise et les affaires de Chine.)

only the fourth son, born in 1831, prince Tchou succeeded his father the emperor Tao-Kowang, he assumed the new name of Hien-Fung, that is, "Complete abundance" or "Perfect felicity." [m]

IV.

THUS have we supposed, that *Daughter of Cyrus* was not the designation of a natural relationship but an honorary title of Darius's queen Atossa or "Hadassah that is Esther." Further, we have conjectured, that in this appellation recorded but, as we suppose, misunderstood by Herodotus, Ktesias, Plutarch, Trogus, the term Κῦρος or, as the Latins wrote it, Cyrus, had that signification which Ktesias assigned to it in its use as a common appellative, referring to his conversations with Parysatis, about her two sons, Arsakes afterwards Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Cyrus. If so, it meant the great luminary of the sky, the Sun. We have also shown, that, whether he was likewise called Pharaoh (*i. e.* as some say, the Sun) or not; certainly one of Darius's Egyptian titles was that of an Inca of Peru, "Son of the Sun;" and that a queen of Egypt having kingly power was called "Daughter of the Sun." But the truth has been questioned of the assertion made by Ktesias and others, that the name Cyrus, in Hebrew כּוֹרֶשׁ, in his own Perso-Aryan, Kurush, signified the Sun. The fact is objected, that the similar modern Persian appellative signifying the Sun is notw ritten either *Kŭr* or *Kūr*, as the rivers anciently Κῦρος, or Cyrus, in Fars and Georgia are now called; but it is written Khur. Now, as the modern name *Kŭr* or *Kūr*, represents Κῦρος or Kurush; just so this modern appellative Khur should lead us to assign Χῦρος or Khurush for the corresponding term

[m] According to an announcement in Oct. 1861, this emperor was then lately dead.

denoting the Sun in Ktesias's days.[a] But in Greek the Ionic dialect omits aspirations: and in some words it uses the unasperated guttural κ, for the aspirated guttural χ. Likewise Kronus (Κρόνος) the name of a Greek deity, identified by the Romans with their Saturnus, was taken by later Greeks for the same as Khronus (Χρόνος) which signifies "Time." Why then might not Khurush and Kurush be Persian equivalents? Besides, to our present purpose it does not matter (though to one we have in view it does) whether Kurush and Khurush were different words or merely dialectic varieties of the same word. Even if they sprang in fact from distinct roots, still, in sound they were sufficiently alike to permit among the learned a complimentary association of the two ideas, and to produce a confusion or a blending of the two in the minds of the illiterate.

Whether Kurush and Khurush were radically or only by pronunciation different, having the testimony of one so long a resident at the Persian court as Ktesias, in regard to the meaning of the first, and having the indication as to the latter supplied by the term of the modern Persian language Khur, we are at least justified in stating that *Khurush* in Aryan signified "the Sun;" consequently that *Khuraush-putri* signified "Daughter of the Sun," and that the latter term was probably but another form of *Kuraush-putri* "Daughter of Cyrus," or at least was so similar to it by accident as easily to be confounded with it, whether intentionally or by mistake. But there are considerations now to be entered upon, which may lead us to believe that with these forms Khuraush-putri and Kuraush-putri, another and an older form of this Aryan

[a] However, that *Kur* (anciently *Kurush*) as an appellation of more rivers than one in the old Persian empire, was only a variety in pronunciation of Khur (anciently *Khurush*), and that like this it meant the Sun, is perhaps indicated by the signification of *Gihun* or *Jihun* the Tátar appellation of one famous river, the Oxus,—if not of others also. This seems to be "the Sun." According to Hyde, (Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 120) this luminary is called in Turkish (or western Tátar) *Ghiûnesh* and *Ghiûn*.

term signifying "Daughter of Cyrus" or "Daughter of the Sun" may have competed, namely *Khshuraush-putri*, and that the term herein involved, *Khshurush*, signifying "the Sun," was a title or surname which Astyages the Mede and his descendant Cambyses the Persian had borne before, and which proclaimed the splendour and majesty of the son of Hystaspes, when he had slain the Magian usurper and by the grace of Auramazda was become king of Persia.

V.

In Sanskrit, (which may be termed the Hindu-Aryan dialect, or the language anciently proper to the Hindu branch of the Aryan race) there is the word *Sûresa* which may be also written *Sūrēshă* to show the vowel quantities and that the *s* is the aspirated sibilant, having the sound of the English *ss* in "session." This word is explained "Lord of the Sun." It is said to be derived either from *Sura*, a word having both its vowels short, or from *Sûra* with its first long and its last short, two forms corresponding in the quantity of the radical syllable with the two forms of the river-name above cited *Kŭr* and *Kūr*, and signifying "the Sun" as they do. Such, then, is said to be the root of the fore-part of the word *Sūrēshă;* and to that, for the completion of the derivative word, there is said to be joined and blended *is`a* or *isha*, a short form (as it is asserted) of *is`wâra* or *ishwâra* signifying "lord." Now the term so derived, *Sūrēshă* or *Suresh* (whatever may be thought of the origin assigned to its latter part or suffix) is certainly a title bestowed in Sanskrit writings upon *Indra*, who in Hindu mythology is the Lord of good gods. Perhaps the same appellation may have been intended by Συρος, *Syrus*, the name (according to a legend related by Diodorus) of the sire of one identified by Sir H. C. Rawlinson with Hellanicus's "Atossa daughter of Ariaspes," the famous Semiramis; the dam of this Assyrian queen being

the much-worshipped goddess Δερκετω, *Derketo*, otherwise *Atargatis*, who (according to Sir H. C. Rawlinson) by S. James of Serug and in the Talmud *On Idolatry* is named תרעתא *Tar'ata*. Again, Indra's appellation *Suresh* may exist in an amplified form in a name applied by Ktesias to a personage, of note in the reigns of Cyrus and his son Cambyses—the Hyrcanian Artasyrus.

But, however this may be, the Sanskrit appellation *Suresh* might certainly in Perso-Aryan become *Huresh* or *Hurush;* though in fact, it appears as the Zoroastrian angel *Sŭrūsh* or *Sorûsh*.[a] For just so we have *Hind* for *Sind*, and among some Vaidic names in the Vendidad, cited by Rawlinson, *Homa* for *Soma* "the Moon," and *Harequaiti* (whence the Greek Αραχωτια) for *Saraswati*,

[a] Surûsh or Sorûsh is by the Zoroastrians placed on the bridge to Paradise in charge of the scales or balances used in the reckoning with the souls of men who desire to cross. *Mihr* or *Mithra* has charge of the weights. Yet Surûsh alone is invoked in the case provided for, Sad-der cap. 51. See Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. pp. 261, 481. It appears that the name *Surûsh* has the general acceptation of *angel*, and that it is very particularly applied (by Mahommedans, it is to be supposed) to the angel Gabriel of ancient and modern Israel's faith. According to Sad-der cap. 63, he who dies after having had expiation duly made for him in life-time, will be received into the safe custody of Sorûsh for three days, and then on the fourth morning (or fourth night, as others say) Mihr-Izad, others say Reshn-Izad, will reckon with him at the bridge Chinavar, and so, he will go to the place his deserts have earned him in paradise. For in the case of his soul's departure from the body, Sorûsh will be like a midwife attending on a woman in child-birth, who takes the child and washes it and cuts the umbilical cord. In the next chapter it is said, that the soul quits the earth for the bridge Chinavar on the fourth morning after death, arriving first at the "fire of Mars," secondly, passing beyond the stars, thirdly, standing beside the moon, fourthly, reaching the Sun, and then, to his own place," the ἴδιον τόπον of the prayer of the ten times twelve who formed the Church, Acts i. 25. Sorûsh here answers both in name and function, nearly, to the younger Horus of Egypt, the steersman of the barge of the dead, who brings them to the scales and who (their souls having been weighed by Anubis, and the result written down by Thoth) when they have been found worthy, leads them to his father Osiris. See particularly the last plate in the supplement to Wilkinson's Second series of Anc. Egypt. Manners and Customs.

the name of a celebrated river. Just so, too, instead of Homer's Pelasgic *Selli*, prophets of Zeus at Dodona (Iliad xvi. 234) we have the *Helli* of Pindar. Wherefore, as in Sanskrit *Sures'aiya-putri* or in one word *Sures'a-putri* signifies "Sun (lord) 's daughter," so among more western Aryans, a title of Hadassah or Esther (like that patronymic we alluded to of the former Atossa, the wife of a king of Assyria, Semiramis) might have been *Huraush-putri*. And this is near to what we reached before, *Khuraush-putri* and *Kuraush-putri*. Nay, it may be identified with these, if the sibilant and guttural, no less than the sibilant and aspirate, be interchangeable, which appears to be the case; not only when (as above noted) we find the river names Kùr and Kur, corresponding with the Sanskrit Sùra and Sura, appellations of the Sun; but when with the name of the capital city, Shushan in Hebrew and Assyrian, or Susa in Greek and in a Kissian inscription of Darius's, we compare the Perso-Aryan name of a people or country *'Uwaj* (preserved in the modern Ahwaz) which the analogy of other like-spelt names in the Perso-Aryan inscriptions proves to be equivalent to *Khòj*, the more modern Khuz, wherein we see the Kissians and Kossæans of Greek historians, with their ancient progenitor, the father of Nimrod, Kush, and also the source of the modern name of the country, Khuzistan. The same interchange of sibilant and guttural is still remarked between modern Persian and Sanskrit forms of the same words.

VI.

We have now attained to several certain or probable varieties of a word in the ancient Persian language, which signified both particular persons,—as the first great king of Persian lineage, Cyrus, Κῦρος, כֹּרֶשׁ or in native Persian Kurush; and also the great luminary of the sky which gives daylight to the earth. We have Kurush,

Khurush, Huresh, and Suresh. And now we venture to utter a conjecture which would account for the variation of the initial sound, without assigning so much to interchange, especially interchange of guttural and sibilant.[a] In the most ancient form of the Aryan word, we suppose that this initial was very harsh and complex, combining, if not the guttural, the aspirate and the sibilant, all three, at least two of them, the guttural and the sibilant; and that subsequently, in different dialects, out of the complex sound there survived sometimes one and sometimes another consonant or (if we suppose the original compound to have been a triple sound) here one pair of consonants, there another. According to this theory of the rise of the actual diversity in form, the original Aryan term[b] must have been Khshuresh or Khshurush; signifying, like the derivative forms of it, "the Sun" or "the Sun's lord." For hence might easily

[a] The remarkable descent of French sibilants (aspirated and unaspirated) from Latin gutturals, appears to have been not immediate but by the gradation of a *palatal*. This palatal and the guttural interchange in different dialects of our own language. Thus *Kirk* and *Church* are the same word. But here, too, the palatal appears to be the descendant of the other, (as in the case of *Chester* from the Roman *Castrum*,) for the original word is the Greek Κυριακον. That the French sibilant when it descended from a Latin guttural, was the immediate issue of a palatal, may be argued from the word *Cicero* in Latin, *Ciceron* in French. The Latin or *old* Latin pronunciation may be inferred from the Greek representation of it, *Kikerôn*, while the Italian *Cicerone* (pronounced as an Englishman might *Chicheronê*) shows the intervening gradation between the old Latin and the French pronunciation.

[b] Our assumption of an Aryan language older than either Sanskrit or Zend, which have been considered the oldest languages of the Indo-European family, is probable in itself and perhaps will be found to result from analysis of the Aryan part of the trilingual inscriptions of the kings of Persia. But a proof of it, parallel to the one whose existence we have been led to infer, is given by Sir J. G. Wilkinson in his Appendix to the second book of Herodotus, chap. 1, sect. 4, where he shows that both Sanskrit and Zend have, like the Latin, thrown off the initial dental of the double consonant with which their respective numerals *vinsati* and *visaiti*, the Latin *viginti*, certainly at one time begun, and which is still seen in the English *twenty* as well as in the Slavonic *dvadesct*. See G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2. p. 280.

descend forms with a single initial consonant, Kuresh, Suresh, Huresh; and forms with a double initial, Khuresh, Shuresh and Ksuresh.

More especially, if such an ancient form there was as Khshuresh or Khshurush, there might naturally arise in the first place in different quarters, the forms Khurush and Shurush, which are produced by rejecting either the aspirated guttural or the aspirated sibilant. Afterwards, to drop the aspirate of either derivative would be a step easily made. That Khurush as well as Kurush in ancient Persian signified "the Sun" we have already given reason for believing. And not only is the descent from Shuresh an easy one to Suresh, the Sanskrit title explained to mean "Sun-lord," but the descent from the original which we have proposed, Khshuresh, is no less easy to Shuresh; it being merely the dropping of the first part of the complex initial Khsh. Thus in Sanskrit *Kshūdrā*, "vile," and *śūdrā* (or *Shūdrā*) "one of the servile class," appear to be two forms, the unchanged and the changed, of a single derivative from the root Ksuda, "to grind down." By a not dissimilar process, Skutha might become Kutha, that is to say, the Scythian conqueror of the Kimmerian country might become a Goth, and be recognized as of Aryan not Turanian race; and we might be led to enquire, whether in the Sakà too, we have not the ancestors of those Saxons who, after occupying much of the Cimbric peninsula on the mainland of Europe, crossed into Britain and, confining the Cymry to Welsh-land, became with the Danes, our ancestors. But returning from ethnological speculation to fact, let us observe that the term Khshuresh may have become Shuresh and the root Kshuda may have produced Shùdra, by a natural discarding of the disagreeable, like that which has changed the older and harsher sound Skh of Low-Dutch into the simple sibilant Sh of High-Dutch; both however being written Sch.

An example illustrating the descent of the several derivatives which we have mentioned, from their supposed original Khshurush, will be found in a familiar case.

Most readers must know that from the Latin term Magister comes the Italian Maestro, the old French Maistre and Mester, the English Master, the modern French Maître, and the Massa of African "talkee-talkee." In the last derivative no less than three consonants belonging to the root have been eliminated; and the fact is indisputable. We do not write as philologers, nor for philologers, but as not unobservant, to readers who, though novices, it may be, in philology, are willing to observe philological facts.[c]

VII.

We will now proceed to see what gain we may make of our theory, that Khshurush was the original word whence these manifold synonymous forms, Khurush, Kurush, Suresh, Huresh, have alike descended.

The Aryan title Khshatrapà, (written by the Greeks σατραπαι in the plural) is in Hebrew Scripture, with the present vowel-points, Akhashdarpnim,[a] instead of what we might suppose to be the word rightly pointed, Akhshadrapanim. We may, therefore, believe (what we did before we knew this illustrative fact) that the word by which our "Ahasuerus" is represented in the Hebrew, that is, Akhashverosh or Akhashuerush, is ill-pointed. A Hellenist Jew, (the original compiler or the translator of a Hebrew or Assyrian original, and older perhaps than those to whom the present vowel pointing is due) making

[c] The few facts alleged from the Sanskrit language were obtained from a learned American friend, Fitz Edward Hall, M. A. of the late Hon. E. I. C.'s Educational Department. But for the reasonings or observations thereon, he is not responsible. (Mr Hall in 1860 received the honorary degree of D. C. L. from the university of Oxford: and in 1862 became Professor of Hindustani and Indian Jurisprudence in King's College, London.)

[a] Esther iii. 12, viii. 9, and ix. 3; Ezr. viii. 36. With the Chaldæan (Aramaic) plural termination *în* for *îm*, it occurs Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27; vi. 2, 3.

mention in Tobit of the Mede who commanded along with the Khaldæan Nebukhadrezzar at the destruction of Nineveh, writes the name Ἀσσουηρος, Ἀσουηρος or Ἀσυηρος, and so does Theodotion in his version of Daniel where the prophet tells of the father of that Mede, Darius by name, who succeeded to the Khaldæan supremacy on the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians. So, too, has the Hellenist translator written the same name, where it is applied by Ezra to Cambyses, as we think, the son and heir of that Mede's successor, Cyrus the Persian. From the example of these Hellenists we might be induced to transcribe the Aryan name in English, Akhshuerosh. But we may go beyond them, for without the aid of any vowel-points at all it seems to read Akhshurush.[b] Now, in this name (as also in their appellative Akhshadrapan for the Aryan Khshatrapâ or Khshatrapan) the initial A was prefixed by Hebrew narrators of foreign affairs, merely to enable themselves or their readers to pronounce the Aryan word, whether name or title. If so, Khshurush only remains, and is alone to be regarded as the genuine Aryan or Medo-Aryan word. And this is the very word which we have proposed as the original form, alike of the Sanskrit Suresh (signifying "the Sun," or "the lord of the Sun") and of an old

[b] In one of the lists which Bar Bahlûl, a Syriac writer cited by Hyde, reports of the names of the Magi, who, having seen His star in the East, came to Bethlehem to worship our Lord, occurs the name *Akhshîresh son of Sakhbon*. This *Akhshîresh* is tenth in a list of twelve Magi. See Hyde, *On the Religion of the Ancient Persians* &c. second Ed. p. 383. Hyde himself would read the name אחשורוש, in Greek Οξυαξης, which he says occurs in Greek writers as a variety of Οξυαξτης, the name given by Diodorus to the king of Baktria against whom war was waged by Ninus king of Assyria. May not Οξυαξτης be rather compared with Ιαξαξτης or *Jaxartes*, that is *Yakhsharta*, a name of the river now called Sir or Sihon, the more northerly of the two great feeders of the Lake Aral. See Hyde, p. 43. The name given by Herodotus Αξαξης, Arakhsha, is common to several rivers, and perhaps indicated *brightness* or clearness; for in modern Persian, *Rakhsh* is said to have that meaning. But *Raksh*, is the proper name of the marvellous horse which the Persian hero Rustam rode.

Persian form Khurush, the existence of which is attested by the modern Persian term Khûr signifying "the Sun." This word Khshurush thus recovered, may also be the true parent of the Khusrù, Khosrau, or Khosroes of Sassanian history and of post-Sassanian legends;[c] for, to produce the latter form, its initial double consonant Khsh (now difficult for the Persians themselves to utter) may have been divided by a vowel, as it is pointed in the text of Hebrew Scripture, so as to change the word Khshurush into Khushurush. From this the decline first into Khushurù, then to Khushrù, and Khusrù, would be easy.

If Darius son of Hystaspes, whom we have proved to be the king spoken of in the book Esther, though he does not give himself the name Ahasuerus, Akhshurush, or Khshurush, in his as-yet-discovered inscriptions, was nevertheless so styled, according to ancient Median usage or in obedience to an edict of his own, by his courtiers; and if this title signified "the Sun," it is not surprising if, according to Oriental and Patriarchal notions of the relative position of the two sexes of mankind, his queen was thence styled "Daughter of the Sun." If as a king of Egypt was Pharaoh to his people (supposing that title to signify the Sun) even so an Astyages or Cambyses or Darius was "the Sun" to the Medes or to the Persians, much more was he "the Sun" by Magian (and that perhaps is Kissian) estimation to his wife; for an epitomè of modern Zoroastrianism commands women not to salute the Sun thrice a day as men are to do, but to offer this homage to their husbands instead, thus cleverly depriving them of a pretext for leaving the house.[d] And as to the queen being termed Daughter not Sister to the Majesty of Persia, the Sun of the Perso-Median empire, this is a case parallel to that which we have seen in Egypt, where Athor the wife of The Sun is termed Daughter of the Sun.

[c] We have also in the Ghaznavi dynasty, or dynasty of the kings of Ghazni, Khusrû Shah ascending the throne in A. D. 1152 and Khusrû Malik in A. D. 1160. See a table given by Edward Thomas Esq. Bengal Civil Service, Journal R. A. S. vol. xvii. p. 139.

[d] *Sadder*, chapter (or "Door") the sixty-fifth; Hyde, p. 487.

Such modes of thought and of expression were derived from the primitive oral revelations of God, and the primitive civilization of mankind, though we behold them in the use of a people whose religion was corrupted and whose hourly conduct was conformed to the corruption. Like modes we find in the revelations made from time to time to a chosen people for the ultimate benefit of all nations, and in the truthful records of that people wherein the revelations also are preserved. When the widowed Ruth asks her husband's kinsman, as one who had the right, and whose duty likewise it was, to redeem all that had been her husband's, "to spread his skirt over his handmaid" (as she calls herself) meaning to redeem her from her widowhood and poverty by taking her to wife, he answered, "Blessed be thou of Jehovah, my *daughter*, inasmuch as thou followedst not young men whether poor or rich. And now, my *daughter*, fear not; I will do to thee all that thou requirest." So, too, in that prophecy of David's, the forty-fifth Psalm, the queen at the king's right hand is called the King's *daughter*. It is true that here two mysteries, the Father's adoption of the Church, and the subsequent wedding of the Church to the Son of the Father, may be indicated by the holy inspiration of the Psalmist. If so, the passage is not to our purpose.

The etymological investigation which this last chapter contains, is left to the judgment of the reader, whom it is not pretended here to lead to certain but only to probable results. But in the chapters preceding this the author hopes to have done better. He thinks he has succeeded beyond real refutation in identifying the Esther and her lord, of Hebrew record, with the Atossa and Darius Hystaspes' son, of that Persian history which we derive from Greek writers and from native contemporary inscriptions.

THE SECOND PART.

STORY

OF

DARIUS SURNAMED KHSURUSH

FROM HIS BIRTH

TILL WHEN

ESTHER SURNAMED ATOSSA

BECAME

HIS QUEEN.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

WE come now to the second part of our plan. Having identified Ahasuerus and his Esther with Darius son of Hystaspes and Atossa "Daughter of Cyrus," we have next to trace the story of this king surnamed Ahasuerus, Akhshurush or Khshurush, from his birth to his marriage with Atossa or Hadassah that is Esther. Our narrative is to combine, as nearly as possible in the order of time, all accessible materials, old and new, not only such as have always been recognized in the third book of Herodotus, and in the Hebrew books of Ezra, Haggai and Zechariah, but also those which the inestimable labours of Sir H. C. Rawlinson and others have laid open to us, in the first four columns of the great trilingual inscription at Bisitun or Behistun, and those withal which arise from our identification of the Ahasuerus and Esther of the Hebrews, with the Darius and Atossa of Herodotus and Æschylus. The Hebrew book which has Atossa's private name for its title, contains matter belonging to the third, sixth, seventh, twelfth and even a later year of the thirty-six over which the reign of the first Persian Darius extended; but the chapter of his history which we propose to contribute, will include only the first seven years of his reign. These constitute an important and sufficiently distinct period. During these years, the throne which he had won by his bold enterprise against the Magian usurper, was assailed by many rivals, and his domestic peace was destroyed by the divorce of the wife of his

youth, the mother of his children; but while he permitted the good intention of the great Cyrus regarding the temple and people of the real and living God to be carried out at Jerusalem, every enemy was in turn over-thrown; the second revolt of Babylon, terminating with the capture of the city in the sixth year of his reign, left his power secure; and in the following year, while it consoled him for the loss of the daughter of Gobryas, his marriage with Atossa, called by the Jews her brethren, Esther, without his knowledge attached to his service for the future the wisdom of her cousin Mordecai. Immediately, this eminent Jew became the means of the king's preservation from a domestic plot, and at a later date, in the post of prime minister, he appears to have been the author of that assessment of the provinces for tribute, on which the financial prosperity of the Imperial government long reposed. It may even be suspected that the Artabanus whom Herodotus took for the king's brother, in the proper sense of the term,—whose advice, generally followed, is said to have been rejected on two great occasions, with respect to nations beyond the border of the empire, when Darius persisted to invade the Scythians of Cimmeria, and when Xerxes, in pursuance of his father's purpose of revenge, invaded the Ionians of Europe,[a]—was in reality no other than Mordecai the Jew,

[a] See Herod. iv. 83, and vii. 10. Xerxes left him in charge of his house and empire during his absence; Herod. vii. 52. No less a trust seems to have been reposed, not in a kinsman but in a Magian minister, by Cambyses when he set forth against Egypt. It was Artabanus, according to Plutarch, who presided in the assembly of Persians which owned the better right of Xerxes to inherit his father's royalty. But, according to Trogus Pompeius as represented to us by Justin, it was Darius's brother Artaphernes—whom Herodotus describes as Darius's brother by the father's side; their father Hystaspes, it appears, having had more wives than one; Herod. v. 25, 32. It is an instance of the confusion made by the Greeks as to Persian names and persons, that Æschylus (Pers. 776, 779) puts Artaphrenes (which is the same name as Artaphernes) into the place of Intaphernes or Vindafrana, among the seven who slew the Magian. By Ktesias, too, (§ 14) Intaphernes is called Ataphernes, that is Artaphernes. To resume; besides Artabanus Darius's brother, we

in the attire of a Persian, and in the confidential service of the Great King.

To our history of the earlier years of Darius's career as king of Persia, some few still remaining notices of his previous private life will be prefixed in the order of the public events with which, in time at least, they may be connected. In truth, for the first twenty years of his life, that is, for the last thirteen regnal years of Darius son of Akhshurush the Mede, and the seven of Cyrus at Babylon, we have only to write of his parentage, the place of his years in the last scene of the Median, and in the opening of the Persian supremacy, with the probable manner of his education. In the eight next succeeding years—the reign of Cyrus's son Cambyses, who seems further to have assumed the name of Akhshurush, with the few months' usurpation of the pretended Smerdis, surnamed Artaxerxes, Artakhshashta or Artakhshatra, many will choose to place Darius's marriage with his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas,

have afterwards at the death of Xerxes an Artabanus son of Artasyras; see above pp. 141, 142, 152. One might suspect the same name to indicate the same office borne by the two persons in their turn. But as Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah, after having been selected out of the royal or some princely family of Judah by order of Nebukhadrezzar on the first capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans B. C. 606, received from the prince of the conqueror's eunuchs the names of Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego (Dan. i. 6, 7); so Mordecai the Jew, when Darius took him into his service, may have received from the Persian a new name (see above p. 188) and that name may have been Artabanus. As to what in that case must next be conceded, that the title of *the king's brother* was bestowed upon Mordecai, compare some similar titles of honour in the Greek additions to the book Esther and the books entitled Maccabæus. Add, that Englishmen in Western India have learnt to summon their *Head-servant* by the word "Boy." This they generally suppose to be the English equivalent of the French "Garçon:" but it is really a broad pronunciation of *Bhâî*, the Hindustani for "brother."

The word Artabanus appears to have signified "Great Protector." Now this is the meaning of *Tai-pao*, the title of one of the chief ministers of the old Chinese empire. See the *Shoo-king*, iv. 20 § 5, in G. Pauthier's *Livres sacrés de l'Orient*, Paris, 1841.

named (as we think) Artystonè, but surnamed afterwards Vashti. With the extant story of Cambyses, he is connected by a notice of the capacity in which he served the king; with that of the Magian, by the conspiracy which he headed. So meagre are these notices, available for the eight and twenty years of Darius's life, before he became Chief of the kings, if not of the earth yet certainly of the then central regions of man's life and labours thereon, that the period from his birth to his kingly dignity will be comprised in the pages of a single chapter. Those which follow will detail the story of his reign from its commencement to the last quarter of his seventh regnal year, according to the mode of reckoning the Persian regnal years which appears to have been then used at Jerusalem.

II.

Of the above-enumerated sources of material, from which we are to draw this part of our volume—one, entirely new, is found, as we have intimated, amidst the surprising discoveries of a constellation of philologers and travellers, among whom it is to publications of Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Mr Edwin Norris, and Mr H. Fox Talbot that we have been indebted. All have for years been employed in obtaining, deciphering, and translating inscriptions left to posterity by the Chaldæans, the Assyrians, the old Armenians, the Elamites or Kissians, and the Persians properly so called. Of these inscriptions, the class last mentioned is the least ancient. It is a series of records bequeathed by kings of the Akhæmenian dynasty, by the great Cyrus and by several of those descendants from Hystaspes, to whom very shortly devolved that throne of king of kings in Asia which, of all the kings of Persian race, Cyrus had first ascended.

In the whole series hitherto discovered of these Persian records, the inscriptions, generally trilingual, of Darius, son and first king of the family of Hystaspes, are the most extensive; while in respect of geographical and historical

information, they are almost the only valuable pieces. For the portion of his history which we have undertaken here, the first four columns of the great trilingual inscription at Behistun, added to that summary of the whole, the scene sculptured in the midst, furnish a list of the principal military successes, with the days of the month on which they occurred, during the first five troubled years of his reign, as those years are counted in Ptolemy's Canon—or the first six years according to the method at this time used by the Jews,—of Jerusalem at least,—whereby they made the Persian regnal year to coincide with the year of their own temple worship. From the same authentic source, we are also able to derive particulars of the preceding reigns, both of Cambyses and of Gaumâta the Magian, who passed himself off for the brother secretly slain by Cambyses. In a list of provinces, it supplies the dimensions of the empire, when on the failure of Cyrus's male issue, Darius stept forth from the midst of the Persians and Medes, out of the family of Akhæmenes to rescue it from the Magian usurpation, and by the favour of Auramazda to make it his own. Two other extant inscriptions, bequeathed by this monarch, which have now survived their author more than (A. D. 1860 + B. C. 485 =) 2345 years, have each its later and augmented list marking the additions which at the several dates the king had made to the dominion of his predecessors. One exists in the ruins of Persepolis on the outer wall of the platform; the other on the king's lofty-seated tomb at Nakhsh-i-Rustam near Persepolis; but both belong (as do also apparently some concluding portions of the great Behistun inscription) to years later than those first seven of his reign with which we have alone to deal.

During these years the accuracy of our chronological arrangement depends greatly upon the correctness with which we may be found to have assigned to their proper seasons of the year, the dates, or *red-letter days* as it were of the Persian Calendar, commemorated in the Behistun Inscription.

Our own confidence in the conclusions at which by the help of Herodotus we had arrived, as to the true position of those Persian months, days of which are mentioned in the Behistun inscription, was much increased (5th Oct. 1860) upon a comparison, kindly permitted by Mr Edwin Norris, of a list of Assyrian months which he had been able to construct out of the fragments of many original lists or calendars, Babylonian and Assyrian, in the British Museum, such as were left for him to inspect and copy, when the more perfect ones were reserved for publication under the auspices of Sir H. C. Rawlinson. When these Calendars shall be perfectly deciphered and understood, we may hope that all remaining difficulties will be removed in regard of the Behistun citations from the Calendar employed by the Persians during their supremacy in Asia, or at least in the days of Darius Khshurush.[a]

[a] The following from Mr N. under date 3 Jany. 1864, communicated by a friend to whom it was addressed, we may venture to subjoin. "The Assyrian volume published" (by the British Museum) "has no Calendar in it. Two or three slabs with fragments of Calendars are printed for the second volume, which will probably be published in a few weeks; but I fear they will furnish little information to the general reader, being, mostly, merely the list of twelve monograms of which the phonetic values are uncertain. We know the equivalents of four of them in ancient Persian, from the Behistun monument. If the Assyrian year began in September, like the Jewish, I think I see some coincidences. . . . In the slabs we find the names of gods and of heroes put in connection with the months: shewing, I imagine, what gods were then especially honoured in particular places. I regret to be unable to give you any better account; but until some person acquainted with ancient calendars shall make an especial study on the matter, or until some perfect calendars be brought home from Assyria, I fear we shall be compelled to remain in darkness." The reader when he arrives at the proper place, will see below that in B. C. 522, 519 and 518, or rather in the years of Nabonassar 226, 229 and 230, the first Assyrian month coincided with our Roman June. Wherefore, of the cardinal points of the year, Midsummer would seem (as at Athens and in Elis) to mark most nearly the commencement of the calendar year in Assyria. If the Assyrian year was lunar, the first month would be "the Midsummer moon."

CHAPTER. I.

I.

DARIUS was the eldest son of Hystaspes, who himself was a son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes. This Teispes (or rather *Chishpish*) in Darius's Behistun inscription is called,—not an Akhæmenian, but son of *Hakhâmanish*, that is, son of Akhæmenes. Now a Teispes, son of Akhæmenes and ancestor of Darius, we know through Herodotus; but this was not Teispes father of Ariaramnes. It would seem that at the time of the graving of the Behistun inscription, the later Teispes (a grandfather Darius may have heard his own grandfather speak of) was confounded with the earlier Teispes; perhaps because Darius was then more familiar with the number and the names of the kings descended from Akhæmenes, to whose throne he had now succeeded, than with the number and the names of the obscurer personages, through whom he derived his own similar descent.[a] By a later account of

[a] In the fifth line of the first column of the Aryan text in the Behistun inscription it may perhaps be suspected, with some measure of reason, the artist by mistake, or the written document from which he worked, had omitted a portion of the copy by skipping from a former Chispish to a latter, before the words *Chishpâish pita Hakhâmanish*, "Teispes's father was Akhæmenes." The portion omitted, if replaced on the authority of Herodotus vii. 11, would follow *Ariyâràmnahya pita*

his lineage, which Herodotus puts into the mouth of his son Xerxes—the result perhaps of maturer enquiry—Teispes father of Ariaramnes was not son of Akhæmenes in the ordinary sense, that is, in the degree in which Ariaramnes was his own son. He was a son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Teispes, son of Akhæmenes. This later statement of the descent from Akhæmenes appears to be confirmed by Darius's testimony in the Behistun inscription, that eight of his race had been kings before himself and that he was the ninth. For as also the ninth in a chain of fathers and sons, beginning with Akhæmenes, he is described by Herodotus's Xerxes.[b] It may be concluded that the four predecessors of Teispes father of Ariaramnes, enumerated by Xerxes, namely, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, the former *Teispes*, and *Akhœmenes* himself, had reigned over the Persian nation before the four kings noted in the course of Herodotus's narrative, as predecessors of king Darius son of Hystaspes, namely *Cambyses*, the conqueror of Egypt, the Great *Cyrus*, *Cambyses* husband of Astyages's daughter Mandanè, and *Cyrus* father of Mandanè's husband. How this last Cyrus was related to Teispes the great-great-grandfather of Darius, is unknown. He was perhaps his brother.

Akhæmenes, from whom Darius no less than the kings his predecessors claimed to be descended, may have been

Chispish "Ariaramnes's father was Chispish," thus, *Chishpâish pita Kurush, Kuraush pita Kabujiya, Kabujiyahya pita Chispish.* The theory supposes that either the omission was made in the cutting of the Aryan text, upon the rock (in which case not to mention the Assyrian, which is defective here, the Kissian version must be supposed to have been made subsequently from the sculptured Aryan); or else, it was made by the compiler of the original document.

[b] Till it shall be proved that in the tenth line of the first column of the Aryan, the word *duvitâtarnam* translated *Savak-mar* in lines 7 and 8 of the first column of the Kissian, and supposed by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, and Mr E. Norris to mean "diutissimè," is rightly translated by M. Oppert "in two lines," we shall be unable to approve in the slightest degree of G. Rawlinson's observations on the genealogy in Herod. vii. 11.

the leader of the Persians at their first entry into the country afterwards called from them *Pârsa* and still *Fars*. Or he may have been the first who united the many Persian clans under a single king; and, with the aid perhaps of the Medes, he may have made the Persians more or less independent, whether of nearer Elam or of remoter Asshur. If Cambyses the conqueror of Egypt, was not only the eighth king from Akhæmenes, but also the eighth of a lineage of which Akhæmenes was the first, then it would appear that (unless his race was more long-lived than the kings of the house of David at Jerusalem) Akhæmenes was contemporary with Manasseh, who was king of Judah, while Sennacherib, Esar-haddon and Asshur-bani-pal were successively kings of Asshur, and while the Medes were ruled in succession by Deiokes, and Phraortes. If this was so, Akhæmenes had not yet become king of the Persians when a Righteous One from the East and a Shepherd of Jehovah's, Cyrus by name, was being predicted by Isaiah at Jerusalem.[c]

From Assyrian records it is the conclusion of Sir H. C. Rawlinson, that in the reign of Sennacherib the *Partsu*, that is, the Pârsâ or Persians, were already in occupation of the country now called Fars, and by the ancient Greeks, Persis. In the reign of the Assyrian contemporary of Jehu king of Israel, 200 years before, and in the reigns of his son and grand-son the Partsu are thought to be exhibited by Assyrian records as living in south-eastern Armenia or Northern Media. Their numerous clans which Herodotus speaks of, were not yet united under one head, for we find them then under a great number of chiefs. No less than twenty-seven of these kinglings bring tribute in the twenty-fourth year of his reign to the same Assyrian who had waged war with Hazael king of Damascus, and had received presents from Jehu king of Israel.[d] No doubt, Persian warriors were always to be

[c] See Isai. xli. 2, xlv. 1.

[d] See G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 1, p. 464, note q; Journal R. A. S. vol. xii. pp. 442–446; and the 29th Annual Report of the Society

found in the ranks of the Assyrian armies, before their brethren the Medes, under Phraortes or Frawartish united them to themselves both for aggression and for defence against the Assyrians. And afterwards, when employment

p. xxiv. As *Partsu* is Pârsa, so, in Assyrian lists of tributary states in Syria, of the group *Manatsuah*, *Magidu* and *Du'ru*, the first, says Sir H. C. Rawlinson, is the territory of Manasseh, which tribe had in Asher and Issachar the cities Dor and Megiddo; Josh. xvii. 11. The ancestor of the Persians, according to Argive legend, was Perses, Περσης, son of Andromeda, daughter of Képheus, king of the Ethiopians called Képhénes. The father of Perses, or Pârsa, said the legend, was Perseus, the son of Danae by the god Zeus, which Perseus visited Képheus son of Bélus, married Andromeda daughter of Képheus and, when he returned with Andromeda to Argos, left his son Perses with his wife's father who had no male issue. From this Perses, the Képhénes, or people of whom Képheus was king, took the name of Persians. But by the Persian version of the story, Perseus was an Assyrian who went to Greece and became a Greek. See Herod vii. 61, 150 and vi. 54. The country of Képheus is called Æthiopia and his people Æthiopians; Apollod. ii. 4 § 2. We must understand the Æthiopians or Cushites, of whom was Nimrod, and who inhabited on the Lower Euphrates. According to Apollodorus, Képheus was made son of Bélus by Euripides; see Apollod. ii. 1 § 4. But, according to "the probable opinion of Pseller," Apollodorus followed principally the genealogical works of Hellanicus, the contemporary of Herodotus. From Hellanicus's *Persica* in which was contained the history of Persia, Media, and Assyria, up to Ninus, there is cited by Stephen of Byzantium under the name Χαλδαῖοι, this fragment,

Κηφέως οὐκέτι ζῶντος στρατευσάμενοι ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τὴν Χογλὴν (leg. Χώχην) ἔσχον· Οὐκέτι ἡ χώρη Κηφηνίη καλέεται οὐδ' ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Κηφῆνες ἀλλὰ Χαλδαῖοι.

See the 160th fragment of Hellanicus, in the Fragm. Historic. Græcorum, published by Didot, vol. 1 p. 67. Κωγὴ or Χώχη is perhaps *Khôj i. e.* Khuzistan. Hellanicus may have considered that, the Képhénes having migrated into Susiana, their former country, in which was Babylon, was occupied by and named after the Chaldæans. The next preceding fragment, also a citation of the Byzantine Stephen's, is,

Ἀρταῖα, Περσικὴ χώρα ἣν ἐτόλισε Περσεὺς ὁ Περσέως καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας.

Herodotus tells us that the Persians were anciently called by themselves, Αρταῖοι, but by the Greeks Κηφῆνες, and this is his preface to the legend of Perseus and Andromeda, vii. 61. The substance of what Herodotus, Hellanicus, and Apollodorus, relate, seems to be, that the population of Persis was partly Ethiopic (that is Cushite) partly of a race cognate with the Argive. To former authorities let us add that Arrian is cited as writing in a work now lost.

was scant at home, or in the Median service, as for instance, probably during the two and twenty years when Cyaxares son of Phraortes submitted to the domination of the Scythians, Persian adventurers quitting the poverty of

Τοὺς Πέρσας ὧν μητρόπολις ἡ Βαβυλὼν Κηφῆναι (apparently a misprint for Κηφῆνάς) ποτε καλεῖσθαι·

See Fragm. Hist. Græc. vol. iii. p. 601. One of the Gentile popular accounts of the origin of the people of Judah, seems to identify the "land of the Chaldees," with the country of the Képhénes. It is related by Tacitus, (Hist. v. 2) "Plerique (Judæos memorant) Æthiopum prolem quos rege Cepheo metus atque odium mutare sedes perpulerit." To this he adds, "Sunt qui tradant Assyrios convenas, indigum agrorum populum, parte Ægypti potitos, ac mox proprias urbes Hebræasque terras et propiora Syriæ coluisse." Here "Assyrian" points, if not to Haran in Mesopotamia where Abraham sojourned after leaving the land of the Chaldæans,—why then—to the Chaldæans who were confounded with the Assyrians. From all we have cited, it is plain that it was an error of aftertimes to place, (as some did in Strabo's days; see Strab. i. 2 § 35; xvi. 2 § 28) Andromeda's peril and the exploit of Perseus her deliverer, on the coast of the Mediterranean near Joppa or Jaffa. It was due perhaps to the Greek passion for discovering the sites of the foreign adventures of their old heroes. Greek strangers may have made this use of a tradition at Joppa, of Jonah's being vomited on the strand by the whale which had swallowed him when he was thrown overboard to appease the storm. A painting such as was common in the early Christian Church, may have been the foundation of the Greek theory. Perhaps Tacitus cites some, who brought the Jews under Képheus from Æthiopia to meet Perseus on the coast near Joppa.

The hero or patriarch from whom the Persians derived their name, Πέρσης, that is, *Pârsa* (or *Perseus*, as, like Nicolaus of Damascus, Hellanicus appears to have called the son no less than the father) was made a son of Μῆδος as we have observed in a former note, by an account which Eustathius had met with. But this means only, that the Persian descended from the Mede, or that the Medes were the parent stock whence the Persians were a branch. The fore-father of the Persians is named in the modern Persian book *Mu'jizât*, in a passage cited by Hyde, Rel. vet. Pers. p. 427; wherein the author relates that the old Persians were of the sons of *Fars son of Tahmûras* who were led by Anushirravân from the middle of the third and fourth and fifth climate. The seven climates of the earth are mentioned in the 1st, 10th, 11th, and 29th chapters of the book *Sad-der*, which Hyde gives in an abridged Latin translation. The name *Tahmûraz* may call to mind Herodotus's Massagetan queen Tomyris. But to this Fars, or Parsa, a different parentage is given by others. In an Arabic work *Of the first and the*

home, sought their bread abroad in distant lands where the arts of peace, various, elaborate, and lucrative, demanding all the labour of the native population, the rude and ungainful business of bearing arms and manning the walls for the defence of the busy citizens and slaves, devolved upon untaught and needy strangers. Thus about half a century before the birth of our Darius son of Hystaspes, namely in B. C. 597 when Ezekiel foretold the overthrow of Tyre by the forces of "*Nebukhadrezzar king of Babylon, king of kings from the north,*" in a description of the previous power and prosperity of the great merchant-city, which he gives in contrast with her ruin, we find the prophet numbering the bands of her hired soldiery, and naming the Persians in the list. He says, "They of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut, were in thine army, thy men of war: they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness. The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers; they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect."[e]

last, by Ibn Shahna, it is said, that some of the Arabs say the Persians derived their name from *Fârs son of Arsham, son of Shem*, or, according to others, *son of Japhet*. Certainly here, in Arsham, we have a genuine Akhæmenian name; for it is that of Darius's grand-father. But Ibn Shahna goes on to say that the Persians themselves affirm, *We are the sons of Key Omaras*, making him the Adam of their whole race. Some will have them (it is not clear that Hyde here still cites Ibn Shahna) to be the sons of *Fars son of Amûr, son of Japhet*. Here Amûr is perhaps the same as the Key Omaras before-mentioned. Others traced them to Hadorâm son of Arfakshad son of Shem. Some, whom the Jewish Josephus would have commended, made *Fars son of Elam, son of Shem*. Others say that Fars was son of Fala. Fars appears to be one of the Tâtar words signifying "a hare." Was there anything significant intended by the Scythian pursuit of the hare on an occasion of the war waged with them by Darius? See Herod. iv. 134.

[e] Ezek. xxvii. 10, 11.

II.

ACCORDING to Herodotus's account of the age to which our Darius son of Hystaspes had attained at the time of the death of the Great Cyrus,[a] his birth must have happened about the year B. C. 549. This year follows speedily after B. C. 551 the date assigned to the birth of the great Chinese philosopher Confucius: and it is itself speedily followed by B. C. 543, the date of the death of the Hindu pretender Sakhya Muni, and the æra of his disciples the Buddhists of the present time. Thus we may conceive the position of our narrative in the history of mankind. But it is more necessary to remark that the year of the Persian Darius's birth was the tenth regnal year at Agbatana of king Astyages's successor; that is, not of Cyrus the Persian, as Herodotus, Ktesias, Dino and others supposed, but of a brother of Cyrus's Median mother, named by Xenophon, Cyaxares son of Astyages, though, under the proper regal surnames of both son and father, as used at court, he appears to be the person called by the prophet Daniel who knew him well in the end of his reign—Darius son of Akhshurush the Mede. The discontent of the Medes which, according to Herodotus,[b] with the aid of the Persians under Cyrus, dethroned Astyages, does not seem to have been due merely to personal grievances such as Harpagus is supposed to have complained of, nor yet to contempt for the king's luxurious manner of life and for the decrepitude into which his power was fallen. This feeling which Aristotle[c] ascribes to Cyrus, if it existed in the Medes, seems closely allied to impatience of a vassalage to the Chaldæo-Assyrian kingdom of Babylon, to which it is probable Astyages had long been habituated during the reign of the "king of kings," his sister's husband Nebukhadrezzar, but from which the Persians must have recently revolted, if the war in Persis, (which in the

[a] Herod. i. 209. [b] Herod. i. 123. [c] Politic. v. 8 § 15.

fable-like narrative of Nicholaus of Damascus [d] preceded Cyrus's campaign against Astyages in Media) may be regarded as in reality the successful maintenance by Cyrus of a revolt of the Persians from Babylon. According to Herodotus, Astyages was dethroned 29 years before the accession of Cambyses son of Cyrus to the throne; that is to say, in B. C. 558 if we build upon the date in Ptolemy's canon for the accession of Cambyses. Now it was only in B. C. 559, according to the Canon, that Nebukhadrezzar's successor Evil Merodakh had been assassinated and succeeded on the throne by his sister's husband Neriglissar.

It may have been during the two preceding years, the short reign of Evil-Merodakh, that the Persians, delivered from the fear of Nebukhadrezzar, revolted and defeated an army which invaded their country in behalf of Evil-Merodakh. Certainly, the substitution of a new king on the throne of Astyages at Agbatana was followed immediately by war upon the Chaldæo-Assyrian empire; for the Assyrian city Calah [e] was besieged by Cyrus, and was abandoned to him by its garrison under the cover of a solar eclipse which is found to have happened on the 19th of May B. C. 557, that is to say, in the second year (as counted on the authority of Herodotus and the Canon) of Astyages's successor, who (we maintain) was Cyaxares surnamed it seems Darius. This Cyaxares is said to have remained at home with one-third of the army of the Medes, while two-thirds with the Persians and the contingents of the other allied nations, under the command of his nephew Cyrus, extended the dominion of the Medes among the nations and prepared the downfall of their mistress, Babylon.[f] And now for the last five years according to the calculation of Herodotus,[g] the Lydians,

[d] See *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* vol. 3. pp. 397–406.

[e] The Larissa of Xenoph. Anab. ii. 4 §§ 7–9. See the Vindication of Ptolemy's Canon in Journal R. A. S. vol. xviii. p. 142.

[f] Xenoph. Cyrop. vi. 3 § 2.

[g] Herodotus seems to have considered the last five regnal years (for 2 + 3=5) of Crœsus to be the first five of Astyages's successor. See Herod. i. 45, 91, discussed in Journal R. A. S. vol. xviii. pp. 143, 144.

since the capture of Sardis their capital and Crœsus their king, from allies of Babylon enjoying the supremacy in the western parts of Lesser Asia, had been reduced to the condition of a people subject to the Medes. Such was the state of things, when in the royal clan of the leading Persian tribe, his eldest son was born to Cyrus's companion in arms Vishtaspa or Hystaspes. Eleven years later, the capture of Babylon in B. C. 538 [h] placed the king of the Medes, then sixty-two years old,[i] on the Chaldæan throne, which, since the overthrow of the Assyrian power at Nineveh in B. C. 608, had been reputed for seventy years,[j] wherever its fame extended, west at least of the desert of Kobi and of India, the throne of the king of kings. Here, soon after—pretending to proclaim and solemnly establish the majesty of the new Median king, but really seeking the life of Daniel, the prophet of the Living God, then their chief president in the civil administration,—the officers of the crown framed an ordinance which they induced the king by his seal or signature to constitute a law of the Medes and Persians, absolute and irrevocable, that whosoever should ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of the king, should be cast into the den of lions. But Daniel, knowing all, went to his house, and his windows being open in his chamber towards Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day and prayed and gave thanks before his God as he did aforetime. Then he was accused to the king, who was greatly displeased with himself and laboured to deliver Daniel, but was over-ruled by the accusers urging the law of the Medes and Persians that no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed. About sunset the king issued the order, Daniel was brought and was cast into the den of lions, the king

[h] That is, in the year of Nabonassar in Ptolemy's Canon ascribed as his first to the successor of Nabonadius; namely, in the year E. N. 210 which began on the 5th of January B. C. 538.

[i] Dan. v. 31.

[j] Jerem. xxv. 1, 12. See Journal R. A. S. vol. xviii. in the Vindication of Ptolemy's Canon.

saying to him; "Thy God Whom thou servest continually, He will deliver thee." The pit's mouth was covered with a stone and the stone was sealed, not only with the king's signet, but (to prevent any clandestine opening) with the signet of his lords. The king passed the night without food or music, and without sleep. Then, very early in the morning, he went to the den, and called in a lamentable voice, "O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, Whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?" He was answered thus; "O king, live for ever; my God hath sent His angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths that they have not hurt me, forasmuch as before Him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, I have done no hurt." Then the king, full of joy, commanded, and Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he believed in his God. Then Daniel's accusers, with their children and their wives, by the king's command were thrown into the den where the lions, famished and furious caught them open-mouthed as they fell. Moreover, the king wrote to all people, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth, "Peace be multiplied unto you. I make a decree, that in every dominion of my kingdom, men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel; for He is the living God, and steadfast for ever, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed and His dominion shall be even unto the end. He delivereth and rescueth, and He worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth; Who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions.[k]" The king reigned but two years at Babylon, and then his nephew Cyrus, who is said to have been also his daughter's husband, succeeded him as king of kings.

Thus, of the horns of the Aryan Ram, the Persian which came up last, waxed higher than the Median; and the power hitherto designated "Medes and Persians" began to be styled "Persians and Medes." The first year of the reign of Cyrus at Babylon, was the third ascribed to him

[k] Dan. vi.

by the Canon, which ignores Cyaxares son of Astyages or Darius the Mede, as it ignores Belshazzar. That is, it was the year of Nabonassar 212 or before CHRIST almost exactly, 536; when, at about the autumn equinox, there expired the allotted seventy years of the captivity of the children of Judah, that captivity which began with the fourth year of Jehoiakim son of Josiah king of Judah, at the same season of the year in B. C. 606. Thus, the seventy years of Jewish captivity began and ended two years later than the seventy years of Babylonian empire. Early in the seventieth year of the captivity, the aforesaid first of Cyrus, "Jehovah stirred up the spirit of the king of Persia, so that he caused a voice to pass through all his kingdom and also in writing, which proclaimed, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia; Jehovah God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and He hath charged me to build Him a house at Jerusalem which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all His people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem which is in Judah, and build the house of Jehovah God of Israel. He is the God, Which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth" (*i. e.* perhaps "is unable to move,") "in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of the place lift him up with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the free-will offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem." This proclamation (according to Josephus[1]) Cyrus made in the knowledge of what the God of Israel had said and the prophet Isaiah had left in writing of him, as long before as the days of his ancestor Akhæmenes. We read it now, at the end of the 44th and beginning of the 45th chapter of the prophet; and we may believe that it was made known to the king by Daniel, now probably not less than eighty-two years old, but certainly, in the seventieth year of his captivity and therefore assured that the time when Cyrus should do as God had said by Isaiah was arrived,—because by Jeremiah the prophet God had assigned not only seventy years to the reign of the

[1] Antiq. xi. 1 § 2.

Chaldæo-Assyrian empire, but also seventy years to the enforced residence of the children of Judah at Babylon.[m] But, Cyrus's voice having been heard, then (we read) rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites, with all whose spirit God had raised, to go up to build the house of Jehovah at Jerusalem. And all that were about them, strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with precious things, beside all that was willingly offered. Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of Jehovah,—spoils that had come with Nebukhadrezzar from Jerusalem, and that he had placed in the house of his gods—spoils that Belshazzar had, in part at least, displayed and drank wine from at the feast, while praise was offered to the gods of Babylon, the night when God wrote His sentence upon the wall, and presently executed it in the capture of the great city by the Medes and Persians, and in the death of Belshazzar. Those vessels did Cyrus king of Persia now bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar the prince of Judah—such it appears was Zorobabel's official name at Babylon. The vessels of gold and silver, old and new, were 5000 and 400. These did Sheshbazzar bring up with the captivity that were led back from Babylon to Jerusalem.[n]

The whole congregation together was 42,360, besides their servants, male and female, of whom there were 7337, including 200 singing men and women. It was a great caravan, which journeyed for the most part on foot; their horses being only 736, their mules 245, their camels 435, their asses 6720.[o] On their arrival in the land of Judah, they separated, going to the cities where, by the law of Moses, their inheritances were situate;[p] but when the seventh month arrived, commencing the Jewish civil year, about the autumn equinox, and on the

[m] Dan. ix. 2, 16–19; i. 1, 2, 6, 21; Jerem. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10.
[n] Ezra i. &c. [o] Ezra ii. 64–67. [p] Ezra ii. 1, 70.

15th of which the feast of Tabernacles began, they gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem. Then Jeshua the priest with his brethren, and Zerubbabel the prince of Judah with his brethren, built the altar of the God of Israel to offer burnt-offerings thereon, as written in the law of Moses the man of God, and they offered them morning and evening. They kept also the feast of Tabernacles, as the special offerings of every day were written in the law; also, afterwards, the special new moon offerings and those of the set feasts, besides the making of free-will offerings.

Thus they began the service of the out-door altar on the first day of the seventh month of the year of Moses in which they arrived at Jerusalem; that is, about the beginning of our October B. C. 536; although of the house of Jehovah the foundation was yet not laid. But they gave money to quarry-men and lumberers, and meat, and drink, and oil unto them of Zidon and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia.[q] For besides the proclamation of Cyrus which empowered Israelites throughout his empire to go up and build the house of God at Jerusalem, the king had made a decree whereof the conclusion was, that the golden and silver vessels which Nebukhadrezzar had brought thence to Babylon, should be restored and go to the temple at Jerusalem, and be replaced there in the house of God. But the former part of the decree (to quote the words in which it was recorded at Agbatana) was this, "In the first year of Cyrus the king,—Cyrus the king made a decree concerning the house of God at Jerusalem. Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacrifice, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid, the height thereof threescore cubits, the breadth thereof threescore cubits, (also) three rows of great stones and a row of new timber, and let the expenses be given out of the king's house.[r]"

[q] Ezra iii. 1–7.

[r] Ezra vi. 2–5 comparing 1 Kings vi. 36.

We cannot forbear interrupting our narrative here with an observation on the record which we have now cited. If the seventieth year of the captivity of Judah at Babylon—a year following the reign in that city of Darius the Mede, the successor of Belshazzar the Chaldæan—was recorded at Agbatana the capital of the kingdom of the Medes, as the first year of Cyrus,—how can it for a moment be supposed that Herodotus is correct in making Cyrus succeed to the throne of Astyages in that city in B. C. 558, and that Xenophon is not to be believed when he tells us that Astyages was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, the brother of Cyrus's mother Mandanè? Again, if the year B. C. 536 was (nearly) "the first year of Cyrus the king" at Agbatana, who can pretend that when Darius the Mede created a law of the Medes and Persians by his signature, and when he wrote to all people, nations and languages, making a decree that in every dominion of his kingdom men should tremble and fear before the God of Daniel, this kingdom was confined to Babylonia, and indeed was but a satrapy? Yet such are the figments of our age. We repudiate this modern medicine which changes old notions and places the heart on the right instead of on the left.[s] We will have the heart on the left, and Darius the Mede king, not only at Babylon after, but at Agbatana before and after, the death of Belshazzar and the capture of Nabonedus.

In the second month of the year of Moses after the year of his calendar in which they arrived, being about May B. C. 535, Zerubbabel the governor and Jeshua the priest with their brethren appointed the Levites from twenty years old and upward to set forward the work of the house of Jehovah; and when the builders laid the foundation, they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph with cymbals, to praise Jehovah after the ordinance of David king of Israel, and they sang together by course in praising and giving thanks to Jehovah; Because He is good, for His

[s] See Molière's *Médecin malgrè lui*, Act 2. Sc. 6.

mercy endureth for ever toward Israel. And all the people shouted with a great shout, when they praised Jehovah, because the foundation of the house of Jehovah was laid. But many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men that had seen the first house forty years ago, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice: and many shouted for joy,—so that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people: for the people shouted with a loud shout and the noise was heard afar off.[t]

But when the Samaritans, the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin, heard that the children of the captivity were building a temple unto Jehovah God of Israel, they came to Zerubbabel and the chief of the fathers, saying, "Let us build with you, for we seek your God as ye do; and we sacrifice unto Him since the days of Esar-haddon king of Asshur which brought us up hither." But Zerubbabel and Jeshua and the rest of the chief of the fathers of Israel, said unto them, "Ye have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God; but we ourselves together will build (alone) unto Jehovah God of Israel, as king Cyrus, the king of Persia, hath commanded us." Then the Samaritans and others settled in the country, weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building; and hired counsellors against them to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia.[u]

When Cyrus, in the first year of his reign, according to the prophecy, said unto Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, Thy foundations shall be laid; Darius was in the fourteenth year of his age or thereabout. Cyrus reigned seven years. In the last expedition or military progress of Cyrus, Darius being then twenty years old, was not yet of age to accompany his father Hystaspes in attendance upon the king. This statement of Herodotus[v] agrees with the report of Xenophon, that

[t] Ezra iii. 8–13. [u] Ezra iv. 1–5. [v] Herod. i. 209.

under twenty-five, the years of perfect manhood, it was the law that no Persian should carry arms beyond the confines of the proper territory of the nation. Till twenty-five years old they were employed at home.

III.

THE year which Ptolemy's Canon assigns as the first of the reign of Cambyses son of Cyrus is (according to the custom of that document in other cases) the year in which the death of Cyrus is made to have occurred. Therefore the 219th of Nabonassar, commencing on the 3rd of January B. C. 529, we take to be the date of an event which (according to Photius's epitome of Ktesias) was the result of a wound the king had received ὑπὸ τὸ ἰσχίον εἰς τὸν μηρόν, not in battle with the Massagetæ, whose queen Tomyris there avenged the death of her son Spargapises, the story selected by Herodotus[a] out of many he had heard of Cyrus's death, but in a battle with the Derbikes or the Derbikæ (that is Derbikà) and their Hindu auxiliaries who, to the discomfiture of Cyrus's cavalry, had brought elephants into the field. The battle was undecisive, and the wounded Cyrus lived to be reinforced by king Amorges, formerly an enemy but now a friend, with 20,000 Sakan riders, whose horses, we are perhaps to suppose, were more used than those of the Medes and Assyrians to the sight of elephants. But at any rate, the ethnic has probably been mistaken for the personal name of the Sakan king, whom Herodotus, if the story had been his, would have called "the Amyrgian," or king of the Amyrgian Sakà.[b]

[a] Herod. i. 201–216.

[b] Herod. vii. 64; where, however, more strictly he seems to define the Saka as "Amyrgian *Scythians;*" and, as in the army of Xerxes, so among the provinces of Darius's empire, he notes but one nation of Asiatic Sakà, Herod. iii. 93. However, (besides certain Saká who appear from their situation to be Thracians, and by their name in the Assyrian to be identified with *Kimmerians)* the upper inscription on the

After his arrival another battle was fought, in which "Amorrhæus" king of the Derbikà with his two sons were slain, the nation was defeated, and its territory annexed to the Persian empire.

How long the conqueror languished under his wound we are not informed, but before his death he made, it is said, a settlement of his dominions, under which one of the two sons of his queen Amytis, by her former husband Spitamas, was made satrap of the newly-subjugated Derbikà, the other, of the Barkanians, and both[c] were

tomb of Darius at Nakhsh-i-Rustam exhibits two designations of Sakà, the *Humawargà* and the Tigrakhudà. Of these, the former are the Ἀμύργιοι; the latter designation appears to be descriptive and significant; for it is translated, not repeated, in the Assyrian, and partly translated in the Kissian. The last letters of Humawargà, which were restored to the Aryan text by the conjecture of Professor Lassen, have been verified by the Assyrian counterpart, which is said to give distinctly *Humuvargà* or (as Mr Fox Talbot represents it) *Humurga*, leading Mr Norris to the decipherment of the Kissian correspondent, *Umuvarka-fa*. See, for the Kissian, Norris in Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. pp. 150, 169; for the Assyrian, Talbot in Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. pp. 266, 267. Compare Rawlinson, Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 294, 297. Herodotus does not count the Sakà among the nations who furnished cavalry to the great army of Xerxes in B. C. 480, but makes them part of the Baktrian infantry division. With the Baktrian cavalry, however, he joins one of two Caspian contingents of cavalry which are enumerated separately besides a body of Caspian infantry; and of two Caspian nations or districts, in his list of the nations of the empire under Darius, he unites one with the Sakà in his 15th satrapy. See Herod. iii. 92, 93; vii. 64, 67, 86. In this last place, instead of the second Κάσπιοι of the MSS, there has been substituted, on unadvised conjecture, Κάσπιροι. But since the Amyrgian Sakà derived their distinctive name according to Hellanicus from the *plain* which they inhabited, we may believe that they had cavalry, whether the Caspians in the Baktrian division of Xerxes' cavalry belonged to them or not. According to the *Fragm. Historic. Græc.* vol. 1. p. 68, Hellanicus is cited by Stephen of Byzantium thus,

Ἀμύργιον, πεδίον Σακῶν· Ἑλλάνικος Σκύθαις· Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀμύργιος, ὡς αὐτός φησι.

[c] According to Photius's epitome of the narrative by Ktesias, we seem to be told that Spitakes and Megabernes, in their capacity of satraps, were ordered both (not the second of them only) to obey their mother in all things. "Satrap," σατράπης, seems opposed in the same narrative to δεσπότης "lord," or "master,"—the quality in which Cyrus gave

charged in all things to obey their mother. The Barkanians appear to be the Parikanians either of the seventeenth or of the tenth satrapy in Herodotus's list. The Parikanians of the tenth satrapy are clearly the *Varkana* of the

the Baktrians, Khoramnians, Parthians and Karmanians to his younger son; also, to βασιλεὺς, "king," the quality he left to his eldest son. In respect of the Derbikæ, therefore, and Barkanii, Amytis may be regarded as δέσποινα, "lady" or "mistress;" and the sons of Spitamas, her stewards from whom she received her revenue at court; just as many, according to Xenophon, ever after the time of Cyrus were proprietors, by hereditary right or by recent grant, of lands and houses in the provinces, the rents of which they received but which they rarely visited, unless they came into the country on the king's business. But if thus the lord's dues from the Derbikà and Barkanians went to the Queen-mother after Cyrus's death, is it not probable that they were adjoining nations? We find the presumption justified. For Eratosthenes placed the "Derbikes" north of the Hyrkanians on the east coast of the Caspian Sea; and, in Curtius's list of the nations that supplied the army defeated by Alexander at Issus, the "Derbikes" follow the "Hyrcani;" whose name, (finding it written in Aryan *Varkana*) we identify with Barkanians. See Curtius iii. 4 §§ 6, 7. We own it an objection to the identification of Herodotus's Παρικάνιοι and Ktesias's Βαρκάνιοι with the Varkana or Hyrkanians, that both Herodotus and Ktesias speak elsewhere of Ὑρκάνιοι. Thus, Ktesias tells of Artasyras the Hyrkanian, Ἀρταπύρης, Ὑρκάνιος possessing great interest with Cyrus and Cambyses; nay (according to Diodorus ii. 2) in a list of nations conquered by Ninus, he enumerated both Hyrkanians and Borkanians (so) where, if we were to indulge conjecture, we might put Arians for Hyrkanians and transpose Carmanians and Borkanians. But the answer is, that Ktesias, hearing or reading of Barkanians, did not recognize the same people whom Greek informants would have called Hyrkanians. But his Barkanians, among whom the dethroned Astyages resided, are Hyrkanians in Justin i. 6. And so of Herodotus, who derived what he tells of the Hyrkanians iii. 117 from a different authority from that which supplied the two Parikanian nations of iii. 92, 94: and perhaps he did not know that they were the same as the former Parikanians, though in lieu of two Parikanian contingents in the host of Xerxes, he has Hyrkanians in vii. 72 instead of the Parikanians of iii. 92, while the Parikanians of iii. 94 are reproduced in vii. 68 and 86. As to the Derbikes, Sir H. C. Rawlinson recognizes them in the *Dariwika* of the Vendidad, (the "Wasps" as this name is translated) who encountered the Aryan tribes in their westerly or south-westerly progress at Hariya: placed by him at the modern Herat which is watered by the Hari river. The Derbikes are described as putting men

Behistun Inscription, that is, the Hyrkanians, who sometimes give name to the Caspian sea. They are said to have been the first of the nations dependent on the Babylonian empire, who joined the Medes and Persians at

to death for slight offences; worshipping the Earth; neither sacrificing nor eating anything female. Of such among them as had passed the age of seventy years, they cut the throats, and the nearest akin consumed the flesh. Old women they throttled and then buried. Such as died under the age of seventy years, were not eaten but buried, males as well as females. See Strabo xi. 2 § 8. A practice similar to this, as it regards males, Herodotus (i. 215) ascribes to the Massagetæ; whereby they killed and ate the aged, but covered up in the ground those that had died of disease. To the battle at Issus (according to Curtius) the Derbikes supplied 40,000 foot and 2000 horse; they carried spears, not always pointed with copper or iron, but sometimes only hardened at the sharp end with fire. And here be it remarked with reference to Curtius's list, that the name *Barcani* (standing in Zumptius's edition after the Persians and Medes and before the Armenians, Hyrcani and Derbices), is justified not by MS authority but on the ground that Stephen of Byzantium makes them a neighbouring nation to the Hyrkanians. The MSS cited by Zumptius read either *Bactrianorum* or *Barctrianorum* or *Baretrianorum*. Of these the first, though intelligible, is precluded by the after-explanation of the author, that the king's haste would not allow the summoning of the Bactrians, Sogdians, Indians and other neighbours of the "Red" *i. e.* Erythræan Sea, meaning the eastern nations of the empire. I therefore read *Bareticanorum*, and understand the nation named Παρηταχηνοὶ by Herodotus i. 101, but Παραίταχαι and Παραιταχηνοὶ by later writers. They are regarded by Herodotus as one of the six γένη which constituted the Median nation. Under the name Παραίταχαι they are regarded as a distinct people by Arrian, Exp. Alex. iii. 19 § 2. So, too, Diodorus xix. 34 § 7 and Strabo xv. 3 § 6; xvi. 1 § 1. Their country Diodorus ii. A §§ 1, 2 calls Παραιταχηνὴ as does Strabo ii. 1 § 20; xv. 2 §§ 8, 14; xvii. 1 § 17. Themselves, too, he calls Παραιταχηνοὶ, describing them as predatory mountaineers who extended (westward) to the frontier of the Babylonian province Sittakènè, afterwards Apolloniatis; Strab. xv. 3 § 12; xi. 12 § 4. However, they attended more to agriculture than did the Cossæi; Strab. xii. 1 § 18; compare xi. 13 § 6. Curtius, v. 35 § 2, has *Tabas oppidum est in Paraetacene ultimâ*. Compare *Gabœ*, Strab. xv. 3 § 3 and *Gabiane*, xvii. 1 § 18. A more ancient seat of this people beyond the Oxus may be argued from the mention of Παραίταχαι and Παραιταχηνοὶ and the mountain strong-hold which Alexander took in their country, by Arrian Exp. Alex. iv. 21 and 22.

the beginning of the reign of Cyaxares son of Astyages. They were received on terms of equality; so that in the days of Xenophon, Hyrkanians were to be seen in trust and in possession of commands like Persians and Medes.[d] Ktesias (if he is the author followed by Nicolaus of Damascus) made the Hyrkanians to be the first people that joined Cyrus and the Persians in their war against Astyages and the Medes. But we suspect that he differs from Xenophon, principally because he confounded the war in which Cyrus commanded against the Babylonians and their allies, with the civil war in Media which terminated in the substitution of the son of Astyages for his father upon the throne.[e]

In his own room, Cyrus now made his eldest son Cambyses king. On his younger son, the Smerdis of Herodotus, the Bardiya of the Behistun inscription, who is called in Photius's epitome of Ktesias, Tanyoxarkes, while in a single passage Xenophon names him Tanaoxares, the dying king bestowed an ample dominion, free of tribute but it is not said free of military service to the Great King. According to Ktesias, he was made lord, δεσποτης, of the Baktrians, the Khoramnians (otherwise, Khorasmians) the Parthians and the Karmanians; according to Xenophon,

[d] Xen. Cyrop. iv. 2 § 8.

[e] The war of Cyrus with Astyages is told in the sixty-sixth fragment of Nicolaus, pp. 397–406 of vol 3 of the *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* After it became apparent that the power of Astyages was broken, men and nations revolted from him;

πρῶτος δ' Ὑρκανῶν ἄρχων Ἀρτασύρας ἦκε . . . μετὰ δὲ ὅ τε Παρθυαῖος καὶ Σάκης καὶ Βάκτριος καὶ οἱ ἑφεξῆς ἅπαντες.

p. 406. It was not from the Medes but from *the Assyrians. i e.* the *Babylonians*, that the Hyrkanians revolted to Cyrus, according to Xenophon. And hence we suspect that the story told us by Ktesias, was a legend which confounded the Medes with the Babylonians, and Astyages (while king) with Evil-Merodakh or Neriglissar and (after his dethronement, when he resided among the Barkanians) with Nabonedus the Babylonian to whom Cyrus gave the government of Carmania, after the taking of Babylon and the surrender by Nabonedus of Borsippa. See Abydenus's quotation of Megasthenes cited by Eusebius Pr. Ev. vol. 2, p. 440 ed. Gaisf. and Eusebius's Chron. Armen. ed. Mai p. 26, in Abydenus's fragments pp. 283, 284 vol. 4 of the *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*

he was appointed Satrap of the Medes, the Armenians and the Cadusians.[f]

To us, upon the whole, we own, Ktesias's account of the events preceding the death of Cyrus seems more probable than the one which (out of various stories on the subject) was preferred by Herodotus. Loving the strange and the picturesque, desirous to interest even more than to inform, Herodotus perhaps was glad to have found occasion to tell what he had heard of the Massagetan nation. Besides, he had made it his rule throughout, to embrace the view of a matter according to which Cyrus was on each occasion the most depreciated; thinking this the "rational" mode of proceeding.[g] But the narrative of Ktesias, according to which Cyrus did not die speedily of his wound (in the hip-joint) may perhaps without violence be connected with Xenophon's last scene of the hero's life, if we suppose that Xenophon, or the romantic Persian tale which he may here have followed,—dropping all mention of war, wound, or sickness, as an unseemly termination of the conqueror's great career, substituted "a good old age,"[h] though this makes Cyrus as old as his uncle Darius the

[f] Xen. Cyrop. viii. 7 § 11. The Kadusians were a nation of great fame in the days of Xenophon and Ktesias; also at the time of Alexander's conquests, and to the age of Strabo. For their rebellion against Darius Nothus, see Xenoph. Hellen. ii. 1 § 13. For their hostility to the Chaldæo-Assyrians and alliance with the Medes in the days of Cyaxares son of Astyages, see Xenoph. Cyrop. v. 2 § 25; v. 3 § 24 and elsewhere. The name is perhaps akin to that of the Kardukhians of Xenophon's Anabasis; *Kardukhya* might become successively *Karduchya*, *Kaduchya* and *Kadusya*.

[g] See Herod. i. 95 where he says there were *three* other ways in which the story of Cyrus was told, besides the one which he had adopted because it was told by some among the Persians who were matter-of-fact fellows,

μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον.

Of Cyrus's death he tells us there were *many* accounts; i. 214.

[h] Dinon, in his *Persica*, made Cyrus come to the throne at forty, and reign thirty years, according to Cicero, *De Divinat.* i. 23. If the historian had any good authority we must understand it to have led to the belief that Cyrus was forty years old when he succeeded Darius the Mede in B. C. 536. In that case he must have died at forty-seven.

Mede, who died seven years before Cyrus at the age of sixty-four. According to his admiring Greek biographer, it was ἐν Πέρσαις, which we may interpret "at Pasargadæ," where in fact he was buried, that Cyrus died, and he died on the fourth day after having arrived there for the seventh time since he began to reign. If he died at Pasargadæ on the fourth day after his arrival, he may be imagined to have arrived wounded.

IV.

But this mention of the seventh arrival of Cyrus in Persis,[a] is one of the features of the narrative which shew that Xenophon, who had made no mention of the six previous visits, is here following a Persian authority. It is also in itself an important particular which has thus been preserved. If Cyrus visited, or was supposed to have visited, his Persians every year of the time he reigned supreme at Babylon, it would appear that his last visit to Pasargadæ was said to be his seventh, because the narrator believed or knew his reign to have lasted seven years. For certainly the number of his regnal years at Babylon or at Agbatana was more notorious than the number of his visits to the Persian capital. But if Xenophon's Persian authority made Cyrus reign seven years, we have here a confirmation of the fact, attested by Josephus and concluded from the joint evidence of the Hebrew Scriptures and of both Berosus and the Canon of Ptolemy, that of the nine years which intervened between the reigns at Babylon of Nabonedus and of Cambyses the conqueror of Egypt, Darius the Mede (called by Daniel, son of Akhshurush, and by Josephus, son of Astyages) reigned two, and Cyrus after him seven, years.

But it will be asked, Is it true that Cyrus visited

[a] Xenophon's words are,
μάλα δὴ τεττσβύτης ὢν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ ἕβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆ ἀρχῆς.
Cyrop. xviii. 7 § 1.

Pasargadà every year while he was king of kings at Agbatana and at Babylon? Or is it likely that he was supposed to have done so, by the Persian narrator whom Xenophon has followed? It may be objected that, according to Xenophon, who here ascribes to Cyrus the custom of Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon, Cyrus dwelt in the centre of his empire spending the seven coldest months at Babylon, the three spring months at Susa, and the two hottest months at Agbatana.[b] Here, it may be said, there is no mention of Persis or its capital whether Pasargadà or Darius Hystaspes' son's Persepolis. But we reply, there is no good evidence to shew that under Cyrus, Susa was more than a provincial capital, while on the other hand, Pliny asserts expressly that the son of Hystaspes was the first of the Persian kings to make Susa the chief seat of his power. In the former portion of our work we have shown that, in his earlier narrative of the expedition of Cyrus son of Darius Nothus to dethrone his brother, with the successful retreat of the Greek division of the army after his death, Xenophon speaks like Æschylus of Susa and Ekbatana, as if they were respectively the capitals of Persis and Media, and as if they might properly express the united kingdom of the Persians and Medes; while Æschylus also evinces the erroneous belief that Susa was a different city from the Kissian capital. We think, then, that what Xenophon says of Cyrus's residing the three spring months at Susa, may be understood of the city which was the Persian capital in Cyrus's days, namely Pasargadà.

And our conclusion is fully confirmed by the fact, that it is almost immediately after laying down Cyrus's yearly tour from his winter at Babylon to his spring at Susa and his summer at Ecbatana, that Xenophon comes to relate the Great King's seventh and last visit to the Persians, εἰς Πέρσας. The king's Persian home, which was

[b] Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 6 § 22. The statement is confirmed expressly as to Susa and Ekbatana; also by implication as to Babylon, in what is said Anab. iii. 5 § 15.

really the then capital of Fars, Pasargadà, Xenophon confounded with Susa. The best that we can say for him is, that he conceived the Persians to have been visited in the course of the king's yearly round. We therefore confidently answer Yes to the question, Whether a yearly visit of Cyrus to Pasargadà is assumed, when, in the tale of the death of Cyrus followed by Xenophon so far as his purpose permitted, it was related that Cyrus died three or four days after having arrived at Pasargadà for the seventh time since his reign began.[c]

V.

HERE, on the question, How far Xenophon's Life of Cyrus is to be regarded as an historical authority, some remarks may be not ill-timed. Xenophon's purpose is avowedly political. Considering the instability of governments,—the democracies which had been subverted, as at Athens, by the discontent of minorities, the monarchies and oligarchies that had been destroyed by insurgent majorities,—how rarely individuals had succeeded even for a while in the usurpation of absolute power,—how difficult masters find it, not only when their domestic slaves are numerous but even when they are but few, to make themselves obeyed within their own doors; whereas the beings of other species over which man has acquired a dominion, as cattle, horses, what not, obey their human

[c] To the three royal cities yearly visited by the king, according to Xenophon, there is a fourth, Persepolis, added by Athenæus; whose circuit of seasons, summer, autumn, winter, spring, corresponds with this circuit of residences, Ekbatana, Persepolis, Susa, Babylon. We might suppose that when Pasargadà in the days of Cyrus and his son Cambyses, or when both Pasargadà and Persepolis were visited in the reigns of Darius Hystaspes' son and his successors, the visit was made on the king's return from Ekbatana to the winter residence at Babylon and therefore in autumn. We might also fancy Athenæus's order of places improved, by transposing the two last, Susa and Babylon, to suit the account given by Xenophon.

rulers and love them better than any other creatures not of their own kind—the pupil of Socrates had once come to the conclusion, that for a mere man it is easier to govern any kind of living beings in the world than his fellow-men. Yet, when by the events of his life he had been led to turn his eyes from Europe to Asia, from the states of Greece to the Persian empire, and then, not looking forward nor choosing to foretell from the example of its military weakness which he had seen in the enterprise of the younger to dethrone the elder son of Darius the Bastard, or from the revolts of distant provinces and of martial populations defended by their mountains in the interior of the empire, or from the corruption of the old Persian integrity—that its destiny was imminent, either to be conquered or to fall to pieces; but looking to its past duration only, and to the actual spirit of obedience which in general characterized its inhabitants,—when he considered that this fabric of many nations, contented still to obey the Great King, was a work ascribed to the arms and policy of Cyrus the Persian, he changed his mind and began to think it neither an impossible nor a difficult achievement to rule men, should any one practise the thing knowingly, manage it scientifically. Some personal experience of this he had undoubtedly gained in the already-mentioned attempt to dethrone Artaxerxes Mnemon, in which the philosophic and politic soldier shared, and of which he has bequeathed us the history. Certainly, there is much resemblance between the portrait which he has given of himself in this history, and that which he has drawn of the great founder of the Persian supremacy in the earlier part of his career. Seeing, then, what Cyrus had created six generations before, our author was led to enquire about him, what was his parentage, what his natural gifts, what his training—in order to find the cause of his being so superior in the art of ruling men. All, therefore, that he had learnt from others, or that he thought he had got at by his own discernment or

mental intuition of the fitness, truth, and beauty of things, he professedly undertakes to relate in his life of Cyrus.

This account of the materials of his work is important to a due estimate of its character. His own words are, "Οσα οὖν καὶ ἐπυθόμην καὶ ἡσθῆσθαι δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.

And with this sentence his introduction closes. So far, then, as it is built out of facts derived from Asiatic stories about Cyrus, or on the evidence of existing institutions attributed to Cyrus, Xenophon's work is historical and matter for historical criticism. On the other hand, as far as it is the result of the author's mental αἰσθησις, a faculty the counterpart to that of seeing faces (never long the same) with one's eyes shut, or of deciphering living shapes out of the clouds aloft—just so far, unless for the coming Alexander or for students of the art of swaying men, it was perhaps not more valuable—setting aside the beauty of its style—than the utterances of German "consciousness" are said to be now. Thus far, then, the life of Cyrus is mere fiction. We have Xenophon's idea, not a portrait, more or less successful, of God's Cyrus: though the artist perhaps did not consider himself to be far over-stepping the liberty taken by Thucydides, of putting probable speeches composed by himself, into the mouths of the generals and statesmen of the Peloponnesian war. He may likewise have thought it would be easy for the hearer or reader (and perhaps the task is really not difficult in most cases) to distinguish between the information for which on enquiry he had been indebted to his eyes or ears, and what he had thereto annexed, the work of his imagination. However, it may be suspected he was self-enamoured enough to think the creations of his fancy not only as real as the handiworks of a Phidias, but to be likenesses of,—nay identical with—the beings whose names they bore; just as (undoubtedly) many of his countrymen supposed the Zeus or the Athena of the sculptor to be actually the super-human beings so named

in tale and verse. He may have rated his powers as high as did the German artist, of whom the story goes, that being required to paint a camel, he did not think it necessary like two competitors (the one, a Frenchman, who betook himself to the camel at the *Jardin des plantes* at Paris, the other, an Englishman, who sailed for Egypt and the desert route of the Indian mail) to copy from one or more living specimens, or even from an authentic picture of this creature of God's, but self-relying, caring for no aid from the outer world, shut himself up to ponder on the fitness of things, and to conceive what a camel ought to be and therefore was.

VI.

WHETHER it is better to confine ourselves to Xenophon's narrative of events connected with the death of Cyrus, or whether (on the authority of Ktesias) we incline to admit a previous encounter with an enemy, and a wound received, the body of Cyrus, like that of his son Cambyses seven years afterwards (which according to Ktesias was carried thither from the distant place of his death) was buried at the home of his race, Pasargadà. Two hundred years afterwards, this place was visited on his first appearance in Persis at the beginning of B. C. 330, and again at the beginning of B. C. 325 after his return from Sindh through Beloochistan, by that king of Yavan foretold in a revelation to Daniel the prophet in Cyrus's life-time,[a] namely Alexander, who was assuredly not styled king of Macedonia, but (as when he was foreshadowed) king of Yavan, Yunà,[b] or the Ionians, by those who beheld him enter

[a] Dan. viii. 21.

[b] The *Yunà takabarà* in line twenty-ninth of the Aryan inscription on Darius's tomb, rendered "axe-bearing Ionians" or "helmet-wearing Ionians," living evidently in Europe beyond the Hellespont, is a term which at least includes the Macedonians. See Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 294, comparing line twenty-fourth of the Kissian; vol. xv. p. 150; and line eighteenth of the Assyrian; vol. xix. p. 263.

successively the great Asiatic capitals where, of old, men had bowed their faces to the ground before the great Cyrus and our scarcely less great Darius.[c] Aristobulus who had accompanied the king, beginning his work when he was now eighty-five years old, wrote a history of the great conqueror's achievements, which, though unfortunately lost, has been reported on the subject of the tomb of Cyrus by two eminent subsequent writers, Strabo and Arrian. Of these, by the bye, the latter placed Aristobulus, along with Ptolemæus son of Lagus afterwards king of Egypt, above the crowd of writers for whom Alexander had been a theme.

The tomb was in the king's paradise or garden-park at Pasargadà, with a grove planted round it of trees of every sort, in a meadow where the grass grew high. The tomb, hid away in the thick of the trees, Strabo calls a tower of no great height, *πύργον οὐ μέγαν*. It was built square and solid at bottom, with four-faced or cube-shaped stones, and had at top a roofed house (*οἴκημα*) or shrine (*σηκὸν*) of stone, whereinto the entrance was low and very narrow, so that a man of moderate height with much trouble might scarce get in. Close to the ascent which led to the tomb,[d] within the precinct, (*περιβόλου*) was a little house or room (*οἴκημα*) made for the Magians, who were keepers of the tomb and had been such, from father to son, since the days of Cyrus's son Cambyses, receiving from the king every day a sheep, with fixed allowances of flour and wine,

[c] The trilingual Behistun inscription shews us how Greece was called in three languages which may be held to have represented all that were spoken in the empire. In Aryan the Greeks are called *Yunà*, in Assyrian *Yavanu*, in Kissian *Yauna*.

[d] *πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον φερούσῃ*.
The ascent here spoken of, may be the flight of steps which the receding form of the structure affords from the bottom of the building to the chamber of the corpse at top. Compare the *ἀνάβασις* of the solid tower in the midst of the temple of Zeus Belus, described by Herodotus 1. 181. In this case *τάφον* must be used by Arrian for the *οἴκημα* or *σηκὸς* which surmounted the building. Otherwise we must suppose the monument to have been erected on the top of an eminence, in which case the *ἀνάβασις* would be the ascent of the eminence. Whether such is the situation, we have not the necessary books to ascertain.

and every month a horse for sacrifice to Cyrus.[e] An inscription upon the tomb set forth in Persian this; "O man, I am Cyrus son of Cambyses, who gained the Persians their dominion and was king of Asia. Grudge me not therefore my monument."[f] At Alexander's first visit to the country, (*κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπιδημίαν*) the edifice which topped the monument had its interior furnished thus,—for Aristobulus saw it, having been then sent in by Alexander to decorate (*κοσμῆσαι*) the tomb, an honour (as it would appear from the contents of the chamber) frequently paid to the deceased. The principal articles of furniture were a table with drinking-cups; (beside[g]) a bed

[e] *ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Κύρῳ.* It might be suspected that the author misunderstood Cyrus the king, when Cyrus the luminary of the sky was meant by his informants. But we do not incline to this idea.

[f] It may be doubted whether this is not an amplification of the existing frequently-repeated Persian and Kissian inscription on the pillars which surround the area, "I am Cyrus the king the Akhæmenian." Onesicritus said, that the "tower" was ten-storied and that the body of Cyrus lay in the highest story; also, that there was a Greek inscription, in Persian character, the following hexameter verse,

Ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Κῦρος βασιλεὺς βασιλήων,

and another in Persian to the same effect. If there was a bilingual inscription in apparently similar characters, the one was in Persian, the other in Kissian. See Strabo xv. 3 § 7. Perhaps Onesicritus really wrote "two-storied;" for Aristus of Salamis, a later writer presently quoted on the same subject by Strabo, follows Onesicritus in respect of the bilingual inscription, but calls the tower *δίστεγον* (not *δεκάστεγον*) *καὶ μέγαν*, Aristobulus having called it *τύργον οὐ μέγαν.*

[g] That the table was by the bed, is our conjecture. In the temple within the eighth and topmost tower of the temple of Zeus Belus at Babylon, according to Herodotus, there was no image but a great bed well clothed, and a golden table standing beside it; Herod. i. 181. That the coffin was *in the midst of the bed*, is expressly stated afterwards; yet before, Arrian's report enumerated

πύελον χρυσῆν .. καὶ κλίνην παρὰ τῇ πυέλῳ.

Unless we may substitute *περὶ* for *παρὰ*, we are driven to suspect Arrian of some error in abstracting the statement of Aristobulus. We might have expected

π. χ. καὶ τράπεζαν .. καὶ κλίνην παρὰ τῇ τραπέζῃ,

or

π. χ. καὶ κλίνην καὶ παρὰ τῇ πυέλῳ τράπεζαν.

Aristobulus seems to have mentioned the *τράπεζαν* once and again, but Arrian to have overlooked the first mention, which may have been brief. In Strabo's abstract we are told that Aristobulus saw

κλίνην τε χρυσῆν καὶ τράπεζαν σὺν ἱκανώμασι καὶ τύελον χρυσῆν κ. τ. λ.

having legs, πόδας, of hammer-wrought gold, and in the midst of the bed, a coffin πύελος or long trough-shaped case, such as we call a sarcophagus, made of gold, with a lid upon it. In this lay the body of Cyrus. Besides these things, he saw much vesture (ἐσθῆτα or produce of the loom) and decoration of gem-work (κόσμον λιθοκόλλητον). The bed was hung with Babylonian awnings, and had purple rugs for bedding.[h] On the bed were also tunics, both of the sort called *kandys* and of other kinds; there were Median trousers and hyacinth-dyed gowns, of which some were purple, others of another and another colour. Also, there were collars, poniards (ἀκινάκαι), and ear-rings made up (κολλητὰ) of gold and gems. All these things, when Alexander returned[i] he found had been carried off, except the coffin and the bed. The plunderers had taken off the lid from the coffin, and thrown out the corpse; the coffin itself they had tried by lopping and breaking, to reduce to a convenient bulk, and so to make it portable; but, the attempt not succeeding, it seemed they had gone off, leaving the coffin behind them. They had done the same with the bed. The enterprise, therefore, thus unfinished, seemed to have been a hurried if not a stealthy proceeding; and the satrap who suffered the felon's death for this and other offences, seemed to be acquitted of a crime which he might have completed (it was thought) in an open and high-handed manner. The Magians, who had charge of the tomb, were arrested and put to the torture to make them inform against those who had done the deed; but they did not say a word against others or

h We know not whether we have given the sense of the Greek

καὶ (εἶναι τῇ κλίνῃ) τάπητα ἐπιβλημάτων Βαβυλωνίων καὶ καυσάκας πορφυροῦς ὑποστρώματα.

Perhaps the coffin was placed on the ὑποστρώματα and was carpeted over with the ἐπιβλήματα Βαβυλώνια.

i Arrian explains

ἐπιμελὴς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὁπότε ἔλθοι Πέρσας παριέναι ἐς τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον·

which might have been a suitable explanation of his first visit, five years before, when he conquered Persia, but was unsuitable to him returning from India. I would read

ὁπότε ἔλθοι ἐς Πέρσας.

themselves; nor were they in any other way convicted of complicity in the matter; they were therefore released. Aristobulus was entrusted by Alexander with the business of decorating for Cyrus his tomb afresh. He, therefore, laid in the coffin all that was preserved of the corpse; he put on the lid, and the injured portions of the coffin he restored; the bed he corded with tapes,[j] and all the other things that had been deposited there for decoration, he put back again, in number and likeness as before. The little doorway he caused to disappear, partly by building stone into it, partly by overlaying it with mortar on which he impressed the seal of the king.[k]

The tomb still exists. It has been again pillaged in the course of time, and is empty. Travellers have passed it, examined it, and brought away drawings of it, as of a building referred by the Musulman population of the country to the Mother of Solomon. Of late, it has been identified, through the decipherment and translation of an inscription in Aryan and Kissian on the ruined pillars which mark the border of the surrounding area. In this several-times-repeated inscription, he that slept in the tomb now proclaims to Europe what at first he made known only to successive generations of the Aryan and of the other more ancient occupiers of the country, "I am Cyrus, the king, the Akhæmenian." The tomb thus identified, we learn withal that the place now named Murghàb is the site of Pasargadà, which before had been sought elsewhere.[l]

[j] καὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐντεῖναι ταινίαις.
translated conjecturally in the text.

[k] This illustrates Daniel vi. 17 and S. Matt. xxvii. 66.

[l] See G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 1. pp. 350, 351; where is an account of the tomb and an engraving of it taken from Sir Robt. Ker Porter's Travels vol. 1. pp. 498–506. Add Journ. R. A. S. vol. x. p. 270 and vol. xv. p. 148. Further, a traveller whom we name presently, has enabled us to say, that *Màder-i-Suleimàn* is the name of the extensive ruins on the third march from *Istakhr* (Persepolis) on the road to Isfahàn; they are about one (*parasang, farsang* or) *farsakh* and a half short of *Murghàb*, which is at the end of the third march and so about fifteen farsakhs from Istakhr. The tomb near these ruins would have

The fact that Cyrus was here buried seems completely to refute the story that he having been slain in battle with her Massagetæ, his body fell into the hands of Queen Tomyris, was beheaded, and its head thrown into a skin full of blood. Nor could Herodotus's informants have been real Persians; for such would have well known the truth.

been recognized by Sir William Ouseley as the tomb of Cyrus, had he found it at Pasâ, or Fasâ, which both he and Mr Morier were determined to regard as the site of Pasargadæ. The name of Bathsheba's tomb has probably helped to preserve the monument of the great founder of the Persian empire. It is thus described by Sir W. Ouseley. "It is a square rectangular house or rather single chamber, above 20 feet long and 16 broad on the outside." The marble blocks whereof it is built, are five feet thick; and internally the sides are stated to be ten feet long, the front and rear, or width of the building seven feet, the height eight feet; "the walls and roof being composed of few, but very large stones. It has only one entrance, a narrow door-way (in the front) not above four feet high: and on its four sides the ascent" (the ἀνάβασις of Arrian) "is by *seven* stages of huge granite masses, forming so many steps, extremely inconvenient from their steepness; each stage as it (the building) rises from the ground, being narrower than that on which it rests." See Sir W. Ouseley's Travels vol. 2. p. 427. Sir William has added Sir Gore Ouseley's sketch of the tomb. This shews but *five* stages; but a low wall in the fore-ground (remains, perhaps, of the περίβολος or outer inclosure of the area) partly hides the lowest of these five and may have hidden from the spot where the draughtsman placed himself two yet lower stages. The engraving in G. Rawlinson's Herodotus from Sir R. Ker Porter's drawing, shews seven stages. A loose report of this construction, misunderstood and exaggerated, became the πύργος δεκάστεγος of Onesicritus. Round the tomb and on the plain in various places Sir W. Ouseley (p. 428) reports vestiges of considerable structures, that indicated (he thought) a city both handsome and extensive. Some at least, we may suspect, mark the site of the royal residence, which the paradise or park containing the tomb probably adjoined or else surrounded. According to an author much cited by Sir W. Ouseley, namely Hamdallah Mastowfi, who wrote in our 14th century, the meadows and plains in which this tomb and the adjacent ruins are found, extend four farsakhs in length but are of inconsiderable breadth. (Sir W. Ouseley p. 432.) Sir W. Ouseley reckons the march of five farsakhs to be about eighteen English miles; Herodotus, about 150 Greek stades. But the farsakh of Arab geographers, according to the measurements of Commander James Felix Jones of the Indian Navy,

To Pasargadà we must refer all notices of the capital of Persis in Xenophon's Cyropædia, not to the magnificent city about forty miles off to the southward, the work of Akhæmenian kings of the younger branch, whose ancestor was Hystaspes. This city the Greeks generally called Persepolis, a name of which the Hindu-Aryan equivalent would be *Parsapura*. But the Persians themselves appear to have given it the name of the nation *Parsà*. Hence Greek writers also sometimes call it Persæ.[m]

VII.

BEING but twenty years old at the time of the death of Cyrus, Darius—a great builder afterwards at Persepolis, if not the founder of that new capital—was still detained in the home exercises and home duties prescribed by the Persian customs to those of his age. He therefore

is exactly two and a half geographical miles or one twenty-fourth of a degree. "For instance," says Capt. Jones, "Akbara is given by Abulfeda, as 10 farsakhs from Babylon. By my work it is 25 geographical miles, in direct distance from outside of one city to the outside of the other. This makes the equivalent of the farsakh 5062 English yards." See his Memoirs No 43, of the New Series of Bombay Government records. The geographical farsakh, therefore, equals two miles and 1542 yards; while five such would make a march of fourteen miles and 670 yards English. Five parasangs of thirty stades a-piece would be more. The road from Istakhr to Murghab seems by Map to go up the winding course of the river Paruàb, called by the Arabs Faruàb, which comes from the north and discharges itself into the Kur or Kûr. The latter river's course is 113 farsakhs from west to east. It is now called Bendamir, a large and deep river which falls into the salt lake Bakhtegan. The course of the Paruàb is one of eighteen farsakhs. So says the Persian writer Hamdallah Casvìnì quoted by Ouseley.

[m] The name Parsà occurs in an inscription by Xerxes son of Darius at Persepolis; see Jour. R. A. S. vol. x. p. 329 and vol. xv. p. 155. Hence the Greeks also at times call the Persian capital Πέρσαι. Sir H. C. Rawlinson (noting withal that Sir W. Ouseley had remarked upon the distinction in his Travels vol. 2. p. 338) observes that throughout the fragments of Ktesias Πέρσις the province is clearly distinguished from Πέρσαι the city.

probably witnessed the ceremonial with which the king whom the Persians long after counted their father, was attended to the tomb at Pasargadà.[a]

Here at the head-quarters of that proper Persian horde, which formed perhaps a warrior caste amid the population of the country on which it imposed the name of Fars or Persis, there was carried on a life-long discipline, both moral and gymnastic, the only pathway to honours and commands. Afterwards, when the Persians became supreme in Asia, the same manner of living was transplanted to the seats of the satraps in the subject provinces, where (in however dwindled or mutilated a condition) it subsisted for the resident Persian families,—Persians by descent or Persians by grant, whether vassals of the king's, feoffed with hereditary lands, mansions and villages, or officers bearing the king's commission for civil or military purposes, or friends, followers, and kinsmen of such as these.[b] That the discipline had more than a single site in Persis, seems very doubtful. But at the capital there was a muster for this purpose, into which after the age of five years all male children whose parents could afford them bread without taking from them labour

[a] Query, if the plural *Pasargadæ*, signifying not only the ruling Persian tribe but the city of the tribe, be not equivalent not only to the varieties between which, according to Zumptius, the MSS of Curtius v. 20 (or v. 6 § 10) are divided, *Persagadæ* and *Parsagadæ*, but also to a combination of all forms, *Parsargadæ*? For *Pársa* and *Parsar* signify "Persian," in Perso-Aryan and Kissian respectively. The omission of the *R* by which Parsargadæ becomes either Pasargadæ, or Parsagadæ, seems a mis-articulation frequently exemplified. Stephen of Byzantium who writes the name of the place Παρσαγγαδαί, is cited as translating it, "The encampment of the Persians." Can the old Perso-Aryan term *Pársa-kára*, "Persian host," be its equivalent? We would prefer *Pársa garh*, "Persian fort." *Garh*, "a fort," is the termination of many names of places in India. In Orissa we have in the language sprung from the Sanskrit of the Uriya population, *godah*, a "fort" or "village in which the chieftain with his family and followers resides." It appears in names of divisions, Budagodah, Lonkagodah, &c. See Journ. R. A. S. vol. xvii. pp. 2–6.

[b] Xenoph. Cyrop. vii. 5 §§ 85, 86. viii. 1 §§ 5–8, 16–20, 33–36; viii. 6 §§ 10–14.

in exchange, entered at least, though because of misfortune or misbehaviour they might not continue there, or be able to pass through the four grades of boys, youths, men, and elders into which this better extract or very essence of the nation, this body of gentlemen, was distributed. The training ground surrounded the king's house and the other government buildings. It was called the free-square, or Free parade,[c] where the epithet "free" may be taken to indicate "Of gentlemen." It suggests the suspicion, either that the larger part of the Persian nation was in a situation more or less resembling that of the mass of Mongols now, who are serfs,[d] or that the race previously in possession of Fars were reduced to serfage, were become to a greater or less degree bondsmen, to the Persian conquerors. But the only distinction intended in the name of the ground may have been between this and the market-ground or dealer's square, the field where according to a notion imputed to the great Cyrus, men met to lie and cheat.[e] The free meeting ground was

[c] Ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἔνθα τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποίηνται.
Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 2 § 3. That there was only one such free assembly ground in Fars or Persis, may be argued from the four grades being severally divided into twelve sections for the twelve tribes of the nation. The toils and exercises of the Persian education are called ἐλευθέριοι πόνοι and ἐλευθέρια μελετήματα, Cyrop. viii. 1 § 43.

[d] See *Souvenirs d' un voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet, et la Chine*, par M. Huc. Ed. 2me tome i. pp. 285, 287–290.

[e] Herod. i. 153; where it is asserted that ἀγοραὶ "market-places" were unknown to the Persians, and Cyrus is made to regard them as characteristic of Greek society. But speaking of the Persians' free ἀγορὰ, Xenophon says

ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὤνια καὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλίαι ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον.

Traders, κάπηλοι, *banyas*, whether a caste as among the Hindu Aryans, or men whose mode of gaining their livelihood had been chosen by themselves, were of course regarded as inferiors by the Aryan warriors of Fars. Compare Herod. iii. 89 and ii. 167. Also Strabo xv. 3 § 19 who says

ἀγορᾶς οὐχ ἅπτονται, οὔτε γὰρ πωλοῦσιν οὔτ' ὠνοῦνται.

Among the Hindus, traders belonged to the Vaisya class or caste; for Manu says, (*Laws of Manu* i. 90.) "To take care of cattle, to give alms, to sacrifice, to study the holy books (Vedas), to trade, to lend at

divided into four parts, which were severally appropriated to the four ages or grades of "free" men. The boys' section, which seems to have had school-buildings or teachers' houses in it, was for those under sixteen or seventeen years of age, according to Xenophon. To this it may be added from Herodotus, that none were under five years old as we have said; for till a male child was five years' old, he lived among the women, and came not into his father's sight.[f] The years spent in the boys'

interest, to cultivate the soil, are the functions allotted to the Vaisya by the Supreme Being, who, after having produced first the Bráhman from his mouth, and secondly the Kshatriya (or warrior caste) from his arm; thirdly, produced the Vaisya from his thigh before he produced the Súdra (or servile caste) the fourth and lowest of the primitive races of mankind, from his foot." Of the many branches of practical knowledge required from Vaisyas, Mountstuart Elphinstone *(Hist. of India* p. 16) cites particulars from Manu ix. 326–333. We give the eight stanzas as translated by M. A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, from M. Pauthier's *Livres Sacrés de l' Orient.* "Le Vaisya après avoir reçu le sacrement (de l' investiture du cordon sacré) et aprés avoir épousé une femme (de la même classe que lui) doit toujours s'occuper avec assiduité de sa profession et de l' entretien des bestiaux. En effet, le Souverain des créatures, après avoir produit les animaux utiles, en confia le soin au Vaisya, et plaça toute la race humaine sous la tutelle du Brâhmane et du Kchatriya. Qu'il ne prenne jamais à un Vaisya la fantaisie de dire, 'Je ne veux plus avoir soin des bestiaux;' et lorsqu'il est disposé à s'en occuper, aucun autre homme ne doit jamais en prendre soin. Qu' il soit bien informé de la hausse et de la baisse du prix des pierres precieuses, des perles, du corail, du fer, des tissus, des parfums et des assaisonnements. Qu' il soit bien instruit de la manière dont il faut semer des graines, et des bonnes ou mauvaises qualités des terrains; qu' il connaisse aussi parfaitement le systême complet des mesures et des poids, la bonté ou les défauts des marchandises, les avantages et les desavantages des différentes contrées, le bénéfice ou la perte probable sur la vente des objets, et le moyen d' augmenter le nombre des bestiaux. Il doit connaître les gages qu' il faut donner aux domestiques, et les différents langages des hommes, les meilleures précautions à prendre pour conserver les marchandises, et tout ce qui concerne l' achat et la vente. Qu' il fasse les plus grands efforts pour augmenter sa fortune d' une manière légale, et qu'il ait bien soin de donner de la nourriture à toutes les créatures animées."

[f] Herod. i. 136. The eleventh year from conception is the ordinary age prescribed by Manu for the second birth of the Kshatriya, that is, his regeneration by being initiated, when he is invested with the girdle

department were probably twice five, and the boy was at least fifteen years old, at the end of this period of his life; if he entered later, he might be as old as Xenophon states. The Zoroastrian book Sadder bids give a religious teacher to the boy after he is fifteen years old, as being now arrived at a perilous time of life.[g] Thenceforward, for

and the holy string, but in case of his desiring to devote himself to the peculiar business of his caste, he may be initiated in the sixth year (from conception.) See Manu ii. 36, 37. On his second birth, the boy, whether Bráhman, Kshatriya, or Vaisya, became a *Brahmachârî* or "student of theology," till he arrived at the degree of "master of a house," *Grihastha*, which might be as early as nine years afterwards; Manu iii. 1, 2. We seem here to recognise the study of righteousness assigned by Xenophon to the boyhood of the free Persian. According to Strabo xv. 3 §§ 17, 18, children were not brought into the presence of their parents (fathers) μέχρι ἐτῶν τεττάρων and the training lasted

ἀπὸ πέντε ἐτῶν ἕως τεττάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ.

Yet he says also

στρατεύονται δὲ καὶ ἀρχοῦσιν ἀπὸ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἕως πεντήκοντα.

[g] This age of fifteen is again mentioned, *Sad-der* cap. 40 (Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 472) where the boy of fifteen who has not done penance, as religious people do, is threatened with these penalties—'That every thing he puts his hand to, in the way of religion, shall be unclean to him; no illumination of mind shall be his; at the very marriage feast he shall be sad.' It is here intimated by the Magian teacher that penance is required from the very opening of the age of manhood. At the same age of fifteen years complete from the commencement of the nine months during which each was carried in his mother's womb, according to *Sad-der* cap. 50, every one male or female is to assume the girdle, which thenceforth is not to be laid aside to walk even a yard without it. "If man or woman be fifteen years old, and have not bound the middle with a girdle, let none give that person bread or water." Observe that this duty of both sexes corresponds with the second birth or regeneration of the males of the Bráhman, Kshatriya, and Vaisya castes of Hindus, which is marked by their being invested with a certain girdle and with a certain sacred string over a shoulder or round the neck, for the suspension on both of clothes. If this has been neglected beyond a certain number of years, the young Bráhman, Kshatriya or Vaisya becomes an excommunicated person, and appears to be held a Súdra for ever. See Laws of Manu ii. 36-40, 171, 172. We return to the Zoroastrian law. From *Sad-der* cap. 98 it may be inferred that the assumption of the girdle was a preliminary to attendance on the priests and sages: as among the Hindus, to instruction in the Vedas. For the obedience and submission due to father, mother, and priest or teacher, and for the phrase "*non debes caput ab illis detrectare*," see cap. 44. The phrase

another space which is expressly defined to have been of ten or as we would say twice five years' duration, they were mustered on the youths' training ground. Up to the age of twenty years complete, according to Herodotus, the instruction was in three things, to ride a horse, to bend a bow, and to speak the truth.[h] As to the matter

quoted is explained by a remark of Sir H. C. Rawlinson's on the disciples of the brotherhood of the Ali Allahis of Persia. Each breaks a nutmeg with the spiritual teacher to whom he attaches himself, and afterwards wears his half perpetually in token of dependence; for he is called *Sir supurdeh* or "he who has given over his head," and he is bound strictly to obey his master during a noviciate of several years; after which he is admitted to a meeting of the brethren, resigns his nutmeg, and partakes of the sacrifice. See Sir H. C. Rawlinson's note on the Magian sacrifices described Herod. i. 132 in his brother's edition of Herodotus.

[h] Herod. i. 136. Strabo says

ἀπὸ δὲ πέντε ἐτῶν ἕως τετάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ παιδεύονται τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ ἱππάζεσθαι καὶ ἀληθεύειν.

xv. 3 § 8. Darius's hatred of lies is apparent throughout the Behistun Inscription. The precepts to shun falsehood and to practise truth, in the epitome of Zoroastrian doctrine, the book *Sad-der*, capp. 67, 68, are thus shewn to be of ancient date. In cap. 67 of Hyde's version we read; "Zeratusht interrogavit ab eo qui occulta novit; Mendaces quomodo se habebunt? cui tale responsum dedit Deus; Oh verax est ipso sole splendidior, mendax rectâ ad Diabolum ibit; nam à diabolo est, quod ille talem concupiscentiam habeat." In cap. 68 it is said, "Veritate nihil melius est ex omnibus quæ creavit Deus. Nam ille mundum ex veritate produxit, et ex veritate est quòd mundus in loco suo mansurus est. A veritate est tibi in hoc mundo *Religio-vera;* à veritate est quod *Gojesta* factus diabolus lapsus sit in maledictionem, quia eam minuebat. Nam diabolus à nullâ re magis timuit quam à viâ veritatis." . . "*Ghâva*, faber-ferrarius, multum veritatis habens, ausus est loqui cum *Dahhak* totius orbis rege, et tunc eum non timuit. Ille solus tali regi responsum dedit. . . . *Gojesta* quando cum veritate rem habendam vidit, mille annos cecidit attonitus; nec versus mundum venire potuit, sed loco suo mansit, gemens et tremulus." See Hyde, De Relig. Vet. Pers. pp. 489, 490. The author of the book must have derived (but not it is probable immediately) from S. John vii. 44 and Apocalypse xx. 1–3. Compare also Coloss. i. 16, 17. Observe, that Darius ascribes the rebellious and false assertions of his rivals to the *god of lies*, the same evidently who is called *Gojesta* and the "Devil" in the book Sad-der. See Behistun Inscription, Kissian version, col. 3 line 61 as given and commented on by Mr Norris; Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. pp. 126, 127. For the corresponding part of the Aryan version, col. 4 line 34, referred to and

of the instruction, Xenophon's account is sufficiently consistent with this, when he tells us that the lessons begun in boyhood and continued in early manhood were, first, lessons in justice or righteousness, including gratitude; also, in modest behaviour, in obedience, in temperance; secondly, lessons in the use of the javelin and the bow; for he speaks more particularly of the ancient discipline as it was carried on at Pasargadà when Cyrus was a boy; whereas horsemanship, as he has afterwards occasion to show, was not added till the Persians had learnt it under Cyrus, while allies of the Medes in the war with the Chaldæo-Assyrian empire of Babylon. As to the duration of the discipline (though conjecture in numbers is apt to delude) we will observe that five times five years, the sum with which youth at the earliest ended, may be accommodated if necessary to Herodotus's above-cited twenty years of age. For Xenophon's term of ten years after sixteen or seventeen of age, seems to suppose that ten years of previous boyhood began in general when the boy was a year or two older than the five which he must in any case have attained. We would suppose, that the twenty years of Herodotus were really exclusive of the first five years of age, and did not commence at birth or conception, as he understood the matter. We would take the twenty years for the period of moral and bodily education, which was made to follow childhood and to precede complete manhood.

During the ten years' discipline to which early manhood was subjected, the young Persian was as yet thought fit for home duties only. One of these duties was marriage.[1]

restored by Norris, see Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 243 and p. vi. of note appended to vol. xii. With regard to Gojesta, one of the many names of the Devil which Hyde has gathered from Persian writers, let us add an illustrative passage from the Sad-der cap. 91. It is on procrastination of well-doing. "Gojesta, qui diabolus apostata est, duos diabolos huic operi præfecit; quorum unius nomen est *Sero à cupiditatibus;* alterius nomen est *O socie postea:* ut hi duo diaboli per hæc remedia homines à bonis operibus retrahant." &c. &c.

[1] The Sad-der prescribes "In juventute uxorem ducere oportet." The reason assigned is that *a son is a bridge to Paradise;* and that he who

The married youths most frequently, and the unmarried always, spent the night with their weapons upon the muster ground about the government house, which they thus protected from hostile surprise. By day also, as they pursued their exercises, they were ready to execute any government orders requiring strength and activity; as to hunt out malefactors, to pursue robbers, to occupy guard-houses. Besides, one-half of them always attended the king when he went out to hunt wild beasts; and this happened several times every month. After the years of youth were finished, as full-grown men, they no longer belonged to the night guard, no longer slept about the government house, or practised with the bow and javelin by day, but, for five times five years more, if not employed abroad or at home, in the service of the state, and in civil

has no son will be stopped by the angels, who reckon with every man's soul after death, when he answers that he has no son in the world to be profited by. He will not be able to pass on; or he will be hurled into the river; whence though his eyes will behold on the other side a city like unto Paradise, with fruit-trees, fountains, and cornfields, he will be unable to win his way thither. See the Sad-der cap. 19. Compare cap. 58 where it is expressly said, that a daughter will not serve the purpose. In the patriarchal faith, that is, the primitive faith of mankind, a son officiating at his father's funeral was a figure fore-shewing the promised Son of Man, the woman-born Redeemer of all. The type of the means coming to be regarded as itself the means of salvation, or (for some reason unknown) to be indispensable, there were things done with intentions which we probably do not imagine, when we read some instances in Patriarchal history of a custom, fully set forth in the Hindu Laws of Manu, whereby a son was obtained by a deputed father or mother; the wife deputing another woman, or the husband deputing another man for the purpose. See Manu ix. 56–70, 81–82, 120–121, 127–140, 167, 183, 190, 203. Hence, too, in modern times the Hindu law of adoption: which when we ignore (as we do Oriental criminal law in matter of adultery,) we deeply offend the nations of India. Hence, and not from lust, appears to have originated the conduct recorded by Moses of Lot's two daughters, and of Judah's widowed daughter-in-law. The same original may be probably assigned to polygamy, a right always claimed for men, and in some communities conceded to women. As to the time of marriage, Manu seems to prescribe generally the end of the noviciate when the Dwidja or twice-born-man enters on the state of master of a house; see Manu ix. 94.

or military authority, for which now they all, and none else, were eligible,—having attained a social grade in which they were the superiors of the other Persians, of military age, and the equals one of another, ὁμότιμοι—they came upon the ground when the boys did, at break of day, ready for any duty requiring sense as well as manly strength. Their body furnished its own twelve captains as well as the twelve captains or magistrates of the body of youths. Their arms were no longer those of skirmishers, but shields, corslets of scale-work, axes, and falchions. Strabo, however, adds the bow and quiver, which Xenophon denies to men of this rank and age, and a turret-shaped hat, πίλημα πυργωτὸν. We might also add a spear, if we might ascribe to the patrician soldier a weapon carried by some of the turret-capped and shielded warriors sculptured at Persepolis. But this, too, Xenophon appears to forbid, speaking of times when (as we have intimated) the Persian forces consisted of infantry only.

When a man of this class had completed fifty years of age, as Strabo agrees,—or a year or two more according to Xenophon's account,—he became one of the grade of Elders; who (except on set days) were not obliged to appear before the king or satrap's gate on the parade ground, but came thither when they chose. They were exempt from military service beyond the frontier, and acted as judges in all causes public or private. That is (it may be supposed) all judges, by whomsoever appointed, were of this body of Elders. They furnished, moreover, the senate or council,[j] which picked from the gentlemen of military age the persons required for places of authority or command. Xenophon represents the earlier Akhæmenian king as very dependent on this council. By it we find Cyrus appointed, in the king his father's lifetime, to be the commander of the Persian forces which Cyaxares son of Astyages king of the Medes summoned to aid him against the king of Babylon.

[j] οἱ βουλεύοντες γεραίτεροι. Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 5 § 5. Add from viii. 5 § 22 the following; συνέλεξε Καμβυσης (the king and Cyrus's father) τοὺς γεραιτέρους Περσῶν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οἵπερ τῶν μεγίστων κύριοί εἰσι.

Moreover, out of the grade of Patrician Elders were selected, not only the twelve captains or magistrates (ἄρχοντες) for the twelve sections of their own body, but the twelve in charge of the boys. From these officers, the teachers of the boys mentioned by Xenophon would appear to be distinct. Strabo writes of them more expressly. He tells us; "Teachers also of histories—persons of the greatest sobriety—the Persians make use of; and these, turning even the fabulous to good account, interweave it, while, sometimes without measure and intonation, sometimes with song, they give out achievements of the noblest personages among gods and men." The good purpose to which these half-fabulous recitations in prose and verse were applied, must have been the lessons of virtue spoken of by Xenophon. The boys (it would appear) had to commit the tales to memory and to shew their proficiency, while they exercised their voices, by reciting them or answering questions upon them.[k] But if virtue might be thus inculcated, the method undoubtedly had a pernicious effect in superseding authentic narratives, while currency and credit was given to a spurious history. Nor was the fabulous only mistaken for the real, but the very purpose of history, it is probable, was confounded with that of fable, so that more curious and critical enquirers than Ktesias, must have been often baffled and deceived. Aristotle somewhere says, that romance is more philosophical than history, and Xenophon perhaps believed his own philosophical purpose to be a justification for the counterpart which he executed with his pen, of that

k Διδασκάλοις τε λόγων τοῖς σωφρονεστάτοις χρῶνται, οἱ καὶ τὸ μυθῶδες πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀνάγοντες παραπλέκουσι, καὶ μέλους χωρὶς καὶ μετ' ᾠδῆς ἔργα θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἀναδίδοντες. . . Ἀπαιτοῦσι δὲ καὶ λόγον ἑκάστου μαθήματος, ἅμα καὶ μεγαλοφωνίαν καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ πλευρὰν ἀσκοῦντες.

Strabo xv. 3 § 18. The account of the gymnastic part of the education is also interesting. It was at the school or the teacher's house, on the muster-ground, that (according to Xenophon) the boys ate the dinner they brought with them in the morning; Cyrop. i. 2 § 8. The twelve ἄρχοντες of each of the four ages are also called φύλαρχοι, and in the case of the Elders πρωτόστατοι. Perhaps, their quarters were in the ἀρχεῖα or government buildings, which, as well as the king's house, were surrounded by the free assembly ground, as we are twice informed, Cyrop. i. 2 §§ 3, 4.

painting of the eyelids, use of cosmetics, interweaving of artificial hair, and adoption of the imposing dress of the Medes, which he ascribes to the policy of Cyrus after the conquest of Babylon. We may point to the colloquy in the 8th book, between Cyrus and Crœsus, about the safest method of hoarding treasure, as an instance of fictitious embellishment; though it was probably borrowed by Xenophon from a Persian tale, for Crœsus seems to have been a personage frequently introduced by the tellers of stories of the times of Cyrus.

The twelvefold subdivision, applied to every one of the classes, on the muster-ground at Pasargadà, corresponds with the division of the whole nation which (according to Xenophon) was made up of twelve φυλαί, "tribes." The same author further asserts that the Persians were said to be about twelve myriads, of whom no one was by law excluded from honours and commands. Notwithstanding, those who for want of means did not send their boys to the common schools of Righteousness (being, as it would appear, at least thirty times more numerous than those who did) saw them debarred from the class of youths, which was open only to such as had passed the years of boyhood in those schools. In like manner, sons of poor or negligent parents, who had not passed their years of immaturity among the youths of the free assembly ground, which (by the way it may be observed) might seem to deserve the name of a Royal parade, could not afterwards pretend to equality with those, whom twenty years of good conduct passed since early childhood under moral and bodily exercise, had raised above the mass of the nation and had fitted, now that they were become ripe men, to exercise authority and to discharge the duties of command. Still less—after the common soldier had outlived the military age—could he be counted worthy to compete with those who had grown gray in commands and who, at the king's gate, were the Elders of the free assembly, when men were required to sit as judges or as senators. Such Persians, thus excluded from high

civil and military employments, we find called δημόται "villagers," common people; and they are described as living by the labour of their hands, ἀποχειροβίωτοι. In the wars (as we have hinted) they served as private soldiers only.

We have cited Xenophon for the statement, that the Persian nation was reckoned at twelve myriads and divided into twelve tribes. Now, considering that the number of the tribes thus agrees with the number of the myriads; and considering also that the myriad was the largest military division in the Persian empire (as in the Peruvian before its conquest by the Spaniards) we are led to suspect that the two terms denote the same thing; that the tribe, therefore, was a myriad, not an hereditary branch of the nation, nor even the population of a section of the land, but only a division after muster of the military forces. Of hereditary or genealogical tribes, γένεα, Herodotus enumerates ten only; that is to say, three leading tribes, the Pasargadæ, Maraphii and Maspii; three tribes engaged in husbandry, the Panthialæi, Derusiæi and Germanii, whom Stephen of Byzantium calls Carmanii; also, four pasturing tribes, the Dai, Mardi, Dropiki, and Sagartii. Perhaps, Herodotus did not intend us to understand that these were all the many tribes, συχνὰ γένεα of Persians. But the geographer Marcianus of Heracleia appears to confirm the tenfold division of Herodotus, when he states that Persis is divided into ten nations or satrapies. And yet, this confirmation is weakened by the fact that, according to Marcianus, Carmania is a distinct country, larger than Persis, and, like it, containing ten nations or satrapies; among which we find the Pasargadæ, transplanted (it appears) from their ancient district.[1]

[1] Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 2 §§ 5–15; Herod. i. 125; Stephen of Byzantium citing Herodotus under the word Δηρουσαῖοι, a reference we owe to Sir H. C. Rawlinson's Essay on the Persian tribes, in Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. pp. 424 and 425. Add Marcianus Heracleota in Miller's *Supplement aux dernières éditions des petits géographes Grecs*, pp. 31–40 and

Whatever may be thought of the tenfold division assigned by Marcianus, alike to Persis and to Carmania, it may be suspected (as we have said) that Xenophon's twelvefold division of the Persian nation was not made with reference to descent or to local situation, but was an arbitrary division of the united forces of the country. In either case, the parallel division of the boys, youths, men, and elders severally, on the free muster ground may be regarded as preparatory to the proportionate allotment of military commands : the twelve sections or companies in a class, being severally in their maturity (that is, among the perfect men) depots of officers for the twelve divisions of the whole military force of the nation. But

Carl Müller's *Geogr. Græc. Minores*, vol. i. pp. 530–532, on which see our observation, above p. 62 note. For the Persian δημόται see Cyrop. ii. 1 §§ 15–19, ii. 3 §§ 7, 11–15, viii. 3 § 5, where Pheraulas is described as one of them. They were ἀπροχειροβιώται, men that gained their living out of the labour of their hands, Cyrop. viii. 3 § 37 where Pheraulas also tells the Sacan that his father with hard labour contrived to give him the boy's part of the course of training, τὴν τῶν παίδων παιδείαν, but when he grew bigger, he was taken away to work at his father's bit of ground and in his turn to maintain his father. As a soldier, however, after his father's death he had obtained wealth through the favour of Cyrus: so that sons of his, we are to presume, if he had had any, might pass through the whole course of training, whether he lived in the neighbourhood of Pasargadæ or at any of the conquered capitals where the king or a satrap resided; and thus in manhood and in age might be counted among the ὁμότιμοι, might be regarded as gentlemen. The myriad of royal body-guards and the Persian garrison at Babylon (which were entertained in Xenophon's time and which, like other permanent institutions, the Persians supposed to have been established by their great Cyrus) were drawn from the class of Persians who in their own country lived by manual labour; Cyrop. vii. 5 §§ 67-70. We may conclude as much of the 1000 Persians who formed the body-guard of Oroites, satrap of Sardis at the beginning of Darius's reign. The first Persian army sent to the aid of Cyaxares son of Astyages the Mede and commanded by Cyrus, consisted first of 1000 ὁμότιμοι or gentlemen, of whom 200, having been themselves selected by Cyrus, chose each four more to complete the number. Next, each of the thousand gentlemen was allowed to choose ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Περσῶν ten targetteers, ten archers, and ten slingers, making up 30,000 in all, or 30 privates to one gentleman. Cyrop. i. 5 § 5.

if the division of the forces was arbitrarily made, without reference to district or descent, the similar division of the classes on the training ground may have been arbitrary also; and if so, it becomes possible to suppose, that there were in Persis more free training grounds than the one at Pasargadæ, where the kings before Cyrus the Great had always resided. On the other hand, if the twelve divisions of each class on the training ground represented as many districts or as many genealogical branches of the nation, perhaps not a single such branch or district would have been represented on more than one parade ground, and therefore, on no one would the division of the classes have been twelvefold, as stated by Xenophon. It would, therefore, seem to follow that, if the twelve tribes were of separate descent, or belonged to distinct localities, there was in Persis but the one free training ground, surrounding the king's house at Pasargadæ. And this would account for the attested superiority of the tribe there located. Then, too, the fact, also attested, that the Maraphii and Maspii shared in the pre-eminence of the men of Pasargadæ, would seem to indicate that they occupied the most nearly adjoining districts.

VIII.

So, at the time of Cyrus's death in B. C. 529, Darius the eldest son of Hystaspes, being only 20 years old, was still in the class of youths at Pasargadæ.[a] Perhaps he was already married to that daughter of Gobryas by whom, as Herodotus tells us, he was the father of three sons

[a] Not only according to Xenophon, who makes perfect manhood to commence at somewhat more than 25 years, but also according to Herodotus, who, having stated (Herod. i. 136,)

παιδεύουσι δὲ (Πέρσαι) τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος, τρία μούνα—ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι.

afterwards at the eve of the death of Cyrus writes (Herod. i. 209,)

Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτεα· καὶ οὗτος καταλέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι.

before he became king in the beginning of B. C. 521.[b] Xenophon's story, placed at the outset of Cyrus's reign at Babylon, that is, thirteen years after the birth of the eldest son of Hystaspes, that the king obtained for Hystaspes in marriage the daughter of a wealthy lord, the first that of the vassals of Babylon had joined the hostile Medes in the reign of their king the son of Astyages, may be inaccurate only in allotting to Cyrus's companion in arms Hystaspes a good fortune which belonged in truth to his eldest son. If so, it is perhaps the earliest instance on record of a mistake afterwards general as to the name of the first king of Persia named Darius,—whereby, from having been surnamed Hystaspes' son, he came to be named Hystaspes.[c] We should have to suppose that the error began in or shortly after the reign of the next Persian Darius, the grandson of the former Darius's son Xerxes, and the father of the king of Persia against whom the expedition accompanied by Xenophon was undertaken.

But if Xenophon's Gobryas was (as we have been inclined to conjecture) the same person with Herodotus's *Gobryas wife's father to Darius son of Hystaspes*—was he, also, no other than Gobryas Darius's fellow-conspirator against the Magian? Of Gobryas the conspirator, as we learn from the Behistun inscription,[d] the father was named Mardonius, a fact which sufficiently identifies him with that Gobryas who, by his wife a sister of King Darius son of Hystaspes, was father of the Mardonius who fell at Platæa.[e]

On the whole, we think it quite possible that this Gobryas, Darius's brother-in-law and fellow-conspirator, was the same person with Herodotus's Gobryas father-in-law of Darius, whom we suspect to be no other than Xenophon's Gobryas. The same person, by a former

[b] Herod. vii. 2.

[c] See above page 3 note d.

[d] Beh. insc. col. 4 line 84 of the Aryan, or col. iii. lines 90 and 91 of the Kissian.

[e] Herod. vii. 5, 82.

wife, may have been father to Darius's first wife (Artystoné as we suppose) surnamed Vashti, and having been deprived of an only son by the same former wife, through the fury of the king of Babylon,[f] may have taken to wife a sister of Darius—a girl of the age of the daughter he gave to Darius, and by this new wife may have been the father of a son. But if Gobryas father to Darius's first wife, and Gobryas husband to Darius's sister, were different persons, they were not related as father and son; for Gobryas husband to Darius's sister was (as we have seen) the son of a former Mardonius. They might be uncle and nephew.

But Gobryas the conspirator, husband of Darius's sister, was a Persian. So we learn not only from Herodotus but from the Behistun inscription. Is it, then, a fatal objection to his conjectured identity of person, or even his consanguinity in the male line, with Xenophon's Gobryas, that the latter who is described as an Assyrian, held, in Indian phrase, a *jaghire*, or in German language a *feoff* under the Chaldæo-Assyrian empire of Babylon,—whereof Nabunit or Labynetus was regent and Belsharuzur or Belshazzar was king?

The objection is not unanswerable; for the prophet Daniel mentions *satraps*,[g] that is, Aryan vassals or lieutenants of the king of Babylon, not only after Belshazzar's death under the reign of Darius the Mede, but in the reign of the great Nebukhadrezzar. Even if he be supposed to have had no Aryan nations subject to his empire, Nebukhadrezzar, like Cyrus, may have granted feoffs of forfeited or conquered lands in Assyria, Elam, and elsewhere, to valiant auxiliaries, not natives of his

[f] Xenoph. Cyrop. iv. 6 § 4.

[g] Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27: vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, אַחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא rendered "princes," in the English Vulgate. In Esther, the word is rendered "lieutenants" in the English Vulgate. Otherwise, as to Daniel's use of the word *satrap* in chap. 3 under the reign of Nebukhadrezzar, it might be supposed that he wrote that chapter towards the end of his life, in or after the first regnal year of Cyrus, B. C. 536, a date which he mentions in his very first chapter. But it seems preferable to regard the word as designating lieutenants of the king of Babylon's in Aryan provinces.

own Chaldæo-Assyrian dominions. Indeed, such may have been an ancient practice of Assyrian conquerors before the seat of empire was transported from Nineveh to Babylon in B. C. 608. The names Gadatas and Abradatas, given by Xenophon to other vassals of the Babylonian who went over to the Mede, seem, like Gobryas, to be Aryan. That the Gobryas of Xenophon is called an Assyrian, may be only because he was known as a feudatory of Babylon. Indeed, if such was his quality, his feoff perhaps had been his birth-place, he had inherited the possession of it from his father, and he may have been a Persian, not even in language but only by descent.

As to the marriage whereof our Darius was the eldest issue, it must have happened after that conquest of Lower Asia by the Medes which followed the capture of Sardis at the end of B. C. 554; since (as we have seen) Darius was born in about B. C. 549, or full twelve years earlier than that capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians which Xenophon misplaces before the marriage of Hystaspes. For, as Xenophon supposes Babylon to have been taken by Cyrus very shortly after he had become master of Sardis; whereas the space of quite fifteen years seems really to have intervened; it may be that the marriage of Hystaspes is not represented as having happened later than it really did, after the overthrow of Crœsus and the conquest of Lower Asia.

But the marriage of Gobryas's daughter may, on the other hand, be rightly placed after the fall of Babylon; and the error of Xenophon may be, as we have suggested, in the person of the bridegroom. The marriage of Darius with a daughter of Gobryas, attested by Herodotus, on account of the three sons which it produced before B. C. 521, cannot be placed later than five years after Cyrus's death. And, if this eldest son of Hystaspes be supposed to have received the daughter of Gobryas before he was twenty years old, that is, before the death of Cyrus, his marriage did but take place in the customary season of youth.[h]

[h] Xenoph. Cyrop. iv. 6 §§ 1–10; viii. 4 §§ 13–16, 24–26.

But can we tell who was the wife of Hystaspes and mother of Darius? Perhaps, a lady who made her son more eminent in the Aryan race than her husband; though Hystaspes was of the royal clan in Fars. We have argued the identity of Darius's wife, the otherwise unnamed daughter of Gobryas, with Artystonè, because one of Artystonè's sons by Darius was named Gobryas; and now we venture to express a suspicion that the name of the eldest son of Hystaspes betokens his mother's father to have been king Darius the Mede. Now if, after the conquest of Lesser Asia in which, according to Xenophon, Arsames the father of Hystaspes had a high command, and Hystaspes himself did great service, the latter married a daughter of the king of the Medes, sister to Cyrus's wife Amytis, his son Darius was not only like the son of Cyrus an Akhæmenian through his father, but first cousin to Cambyses through his mother, and not less entitled than Cambyses when he came to the throne of the Perso-Median kingdom, to take Akhshurush or rather Khshurush, the name of Darius the Mede's father, for his own regal appellation.

IX.

In the fifth year of the reign of Cambyses son of Cyrus, B. C. 525, after he had caused his brother Bardiya or Smerdis to be secretly put to death, the help of the Phœnicians, also of the Ionian and Æolian Greeks at sea, with that of the Arabian[a] in the desert, enabled the king of

[a] For the date of the conquest, see above p. 54. "The Arabian" of the reign of Cambyses (Herod. iii. 4–9) seems to be represented in the reign of Artaxerxes son of Xerxes (when Herodotus himself gained his information of the country) by the *Geshem* or *Gashmu* who is counted by Nehemiah as one of the enemies of Jerusalem at a time when the city had been anew dismantled and when, apparently, much loss of population had been sustained, in B. C. 445. See Nehemiah ii. 19; iv. 7; vi. 1, 6. The chief of the Nabathæans who in the reign of Nebukhadrezzar had conquered or dispossessed the Edomites, appears to be meant. But a more potent Arabian than the Nabathæan had

Persia to achieve the conquest or punishment of Egypt;

perhaps been heard of by Herodotus. Certainly, by Xenophon's account, "the Arabian," the vassal of that king of Babylon—apparently Nergalsharuzur or Neriglissar—who was slain in the first battle with the Medes and Persians under Cyrus, was able to bring into the field to the aid of his suzerain 10,000 horsemen, 100 war-chariots, and an immense number of slingers; Cyrop. ii. 1 § 5. His Arabs must have been in part settled in Syria and Mesopotamia (perhaps even in Assyria proper) for we find Xenophon afterwards describing the Assyrians and Arabs, when overtaken in their retreat by Cyrus, as being *in their own country;* Cyrop. iv. 2 § 31. The term Arabians must be of no less compass, where Herodotus describes Sennacherib, the invader of Egypt, as "king of the Arabs and Assyrians," Herod. ii. 142. After the fall of the Chaldæo-Assyrian monarchy, Cyrus is said to have sent a satrap, Megabyzus by name, into Arabia; Cyrop. viii. 6 § 7. Hence we may conclude, that the Arab force before described by Xenophon, must have included more than Jokhtanites and Ishmaelites; in fact, that it was the fifth satrapy of the twenty into which (according to Herodotus) the tributary nations of his Asiatic and Libyan dominions were divided by Darius. This satrapy extended from Cilicia to Egypt. The Arabs within its confines paid no portion of the silver tribute imposed upon the satrapy, but they yearly brought the king a gift of 1000 talents' weight of frankincense; Herod. iii. 91, 97. Cyprus belonged to it, and the coast of the mainland was occupied by the Phœnicians and Philistine Syrians. To the fleet of Xerxes the island contributed a squadron of 150 ships, the coast 300; Herod. vii. 89, 90. To the land army the Arabs furnished a force mounted on camels and another of foot-archers; Herod. vii. 68, 86. The term Arabia, then, as used by Xenophon in the Cyropædia, appears to signify that "land of the Hebrews" which Joseph son of Abraham's grandson Israel spoke of to the Egyptians, Genes. xl. 15, and of the language of which the Egyptians had interpreters; Genes. xlii. 23; and we own a strong suspicion that עֵבֶר *'Eber*, the ancestor of the Jokhtanite Arabs as well as (through Abraham) of Ishmaelites, is really the same word as עֲרַב *Arabia;* though the latter is derived by Sir J. G. Wilkinson from 'Ereb (Heb.) Gharb (Arab.) 'evening' or 'sun-down' or 'west,' from the Heb. root 'Arab, '(the sun) went down.' But Gesenius refers the name to the Heb. root 'Arab, 'was dry,' 'was sterile.' At the close of the Anabasis, Xenophon gives a list of the governors and their provinces which the ten thousand Greeks had traversed in going up against Artaxerxes Mnemon or in effecting their retreat, and in this he sets down Phœnicia and Arabia as one government, Syria and Assyria as another, and Babylonia as a third. To Media he ascribed the country on the east bank of the Tigris from the city Opis and the confluence of the Physkus northward, as far perhaps as the Zabatus or Zab; and

where Amasis,[b] having long survived his last Chaldæan suzerain, had just closed a reign of four and forty years. In this same year, or perhaps in the next, the year B. C. 524, our Darius son of Hystaspes had attained the age of perfect manhood, and according to the old Persian rule was now first available for foreign war. In fact, we meet with him at Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, among the body-guards of Cambyses. These, according to Xenophon, (who ascribes the number used in his own day to the institution of Cyrus) were ten thousand strong; a number of which the tenth part, according to Herodotus,[c] had sufficed the kings of Egypt for the same purpose. The king of Persia's guards were drawn from the common people of Fars or Persis. Darius, therefore, must have held a command among them—perhaps that of a thousand—not only because undoubtedly he had passed through the grades of boyhood and youth in the exercises prescribed on the free assembly ground about the king's house at Pasargadæ, or elsewhere, but because, as an Akhæmenian, he was of far more importance than the mere esquire or knight of the body to whom a translator in the time of our Tudor or Plantagenet kings might have been led by Herodotus's representation to liken the eldest son of Hystaspes.

Arrived in Egypt, the army of Cambyses in a severe

hence, he counts Media as a province which the Greeks had crossed. We think, then, the Arabia of the Cyropædia, a country at least as extensive as the satrapy of Arabia and Phœnicia of the Anabasis. This includes a desert country of wandering Arabs, on the left bank of the Euphrates divided by a river Araxes from a Syria on the same side of the Euphrates but higher up the stream; Anab. i. 4 § 19; i. 5 § 1. In the Behistun inscription Darius's list of provinces has Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, and (after Egypt) the coast, *i. e.* of Phœnicia and Philistia, if not of Cilicia also and Pamphylia. Darius's second list, that on the south wall of the platform at Persepolis, has Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt; and his third list likewise (on his tomb) has Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt; nor in either is there separate mention of the coast. See Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 197, 280, 294, vol. xv. pp. 96, 150, vol. xix. p. 266.

[b] Herod. iii. 1, 10. [c] Herod. ii. 166.

engagement, maintained the reputation which the Persians and Medes had earned during the wars wherein Cyrus had been their chief. The army of the king of Egypt, Psammenitus son of Amasis, which contained a division of Greek and Carian mercenaries, was defeated. Though Herodotus had visited the battle-field where, in the time of the grand-children of the combatants, the bones of the slain lay separated as the armies had stood or (we should rather suppose) as they had been collected afterwards; and though he relates his having verified by trial, what the people of the neighbourhood reported—the hardness of the Egyptian and the softness of the Persian skulls, he has neglected to tell us more of the situation than that Psammenitus awaited the Persian invasion in a camp on the Pelusian branch of the Nile.[d] Nor has he told us what, if he had learnt, he would not probably have failed to relate, whether any aid was rendered to the invaders by their fleet or whether the Egyptians opposed any similar force upon the river. One might have expected the field of the combat to be in front of Daphnas or Tahpanhes, surnamed by Herodotus "the Pelusian," the ordinary head-quarters of the army to which the defence of Lower Egypt was assigned on the side of the Syrians and Arabs.[e] This place being, according to the Antonine Itinerary, sixteen Roman miles away from Pelusium, should be looked for between the south and south-west at the distance of nearly fifteen English miles from the

[d] ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλευμένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἑστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος, says Herodotus, iii. 10; by which we are by no means obliged to suppose the town or neighbourhood of Pelusium to be intended, where the eastern branch of the Nile, then an important channel reached the sea; for στόμα, "mouth," is used by Herodotus to designate the whole channel from the apex of the Delta to the sea; see Herod. ii. 17.

[e] For *Daphnas*, see Herod. ii. 30, 107. It is the *Taphnas* of the Septuagint version of Jeremiah xliii. (in the Sept. l.) 7, 8, 9; also xliv. (in the Sept. li.) 1; which represents the תַּחְפַּנְחֵס of those passages and of Jerem. xlvi. 14. So we have ἐν Τάφναις Alex. MS. Ezek. xxx. 18, where there is a slight difference in the pointing of the name in the Hebrew character. Also υἱοὶ Μέμφεως καὶ Τάφνας, Jerem. ii. 16 where the second ח is by some omitted in the writing of the Hebrew.

existing ruins.[f] And other ruins there are at this distance (according to Wyld's Map of the Isthmus of Suez) near Abussefeh Nabeh, about four miles north-east of the Birket el Ballah. Vestiges of an ancient canal, run from the south outside the lake el-Ballah and along the east of the position to the northward towards Pelusium. If this canal was full of water in the days of Cambyses, it would front an army having its centre at Abussefeh and facing to the east. In that position, too, even in the old close formation, a large army might have perhaps been extended, in masses or phalanxes nearly contiguous, so as to be flanked by the lake on the right, and on the left by the marshy tract which extends southward and eastward from lake Menzaleh. The position would be favourable whereon to bar the entrance of an Asiatic enemy approaching the Nile-watered country from the Serbonid lake on the sea coast and from Tel-Gerreh[g] at its western extremity about twenty miles distant from Abussefeh Nabeh. For such an enemy might well avoid Pelusium, turning off from the road thither, which he had hitherto followed along the coast, and skirting the marshes by which that city was covered towards the south and east.

But we may doubt the report of the evidence given by the Antonine Itinerary. For, it seems, at the distance of about sixteen English miles further than Abussefeh Nabeh towards Salahieh, the traveller from the coast at Tel Gerreh finds ruins; and to the right of these, at the distance of two miles or more, on an outlet of the stream taken for the old Pelusian branch of the Nile, is placed Tel Defeineh; the proximity of which to the water of the Pelusian Nile is a feature assigned by Herodotus to the encampment of

[f] The distance is cited from the Antonine Itinerary by Sir J. G. Wilkinson; the page (163) by Wesseling. The Roman *passus*, a double step reckoned from the heel of the foot before it is raised to the heel of the same foot when set down again in marching, was five Roman feet, which, at 11.6490 English inches to the Roman foot, gives 1618 English yards to the Roman *mille passuum* or mile. See Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, under *Mensura*, *Milliare*, and *Passus*.

[g] Strabo's τὰ Γέρρα. Strab. xvi. 2 § 33.

the Egyptian army defeated by Cambyses; while the name seems to be almost exactly that anciently applied, as we have seen, to the customary head-quarters of the army which of old used to guard the Egyptian frontier towards Syria. The position appears stronger than that at Abussefeh Nabeh, being completely defended by the swampy land and the Birket el-Ballah, which two unite at a point on the road from Syria, distant six miles from the ruins near Tel Defeinah and having ruins of its own on the in or western side. We have already noticed the vestiges of an old canal which protected the position at Abussefeh Nabeh from the east; but the point where now the marsh-land joins the Birket el-Ballah must have been still more difficult to pass. The defensible character of both spots cannot be estimated without remembering that in the low lands, in the canals, and in the Birket el Ballah, there must have been far more water (at the driest season of the year, when Cambyses' invasion was made) than could now by any means be procured from the Pelusian channel of the Nile, which we see shrunk to a rivulet, whereas, at the time of the Persian invasion, as still in that of Herodotus's visit, it carried to the sea one-third of the waters of the Nile. Against an enemy whose artillery was sling-stones, arrows, and javelins, these two lines of defence should have left the position of an Egyptian army assailable only from the river, the entrance of which should have been guarded by a fleet, or from the south side of the Birket el Ballah, where the plateau of el-Guisr affords the passage by which the Septuagint translators supposed Jacob to have entered Egypt. We may now be of opinion, that it is a very probable account which Ktesias gives us of the causes which produced the success of Cambyses. We have learned from Herodotus, that the king of Egypt suffered much from the desertion to Cambyses of Phanes the Halicarnassian. Ktesias tells us, that Kombapheus, a eunuch who had great authority in Egypt under the king, having the promise from Cambyses (conveyed to him through a cousin, who was one of the Persian's chief

eunuchs) that he should be his governor of Egypt, betrayed things to the invader, especially (it is said) the bridges.

It was by the coast road from Kadytis of the Philistines, a place which we have always believed, and which is now demonstrated by Assyrian records to be Gaza, that (according to Herodotus) Cambyses came against Egypt. As far as the place called by that historian Iênysus, which must have been at, or near to, the Rhapheia or Rhaphia of Josephus, Strabo, Diodorus—the space of one march from Gaza—the invader had not yet entered the desert; but thenceforward to the Kasian promontory, a three days' march, the country had no water hardly of its own, nor, at the time of the expedition of Cambyses, any large imported stores, such as were afterwards kept up; being constantly supplied in earthen vessels from Egypt under a standing order of the Persian administration there.[h] To meet the wants of his army in the passage of this waterless region, Cambyses was advised by Phanes who had deserted to him from the Greek mercenaries in the service of the king of Egypt, to make a treaty with the Arabian, that is (we may presume) with the chief of those Nabathæans whose grandfathers under the reign of Nebukhadrezzar king of Babylon had ejected the Idumæans (the children of Esau surnamed Edom or the Red) from Mount Seir and Petra; forcing them (or a remnant of them) into the southern parts of the kingdom of Judah, the inhabitants of which had been destroyed or transplanted by Nebukhad-

[h] Herod. iii. 6, 7. The observant traveller's account, that all the earthen jars in which wine was imported from Greece and Phœnicia into Egypt, were collected at Memphis, filled with water there, and sent to the road across the Syrian desert, is well illustrated by Larcher, who cites Aristid. *Orat. Ægyptiac. fol.* 96 *lin.* 48 *et seq.* thus, "The water of the Nile does not spoil whether kept on the spot or conveyed to a distance. The water remaining in vessels that have come from Egypt to Italy, is quite sweet at the end of the voyage, while all they have taken in on their way (along the coasts) is putrid. The Egyptians are the only people of whom we have any knowledge, who *preserve water in jars as others do wine.* They have some of three or four years old or even more, and its age gives it a value as amongst us it does to wine."

rezzar to Babylon.[i] Having been made the friend of Cambyses by a religious ceremonial, wherein the mute but visible witness, standing between the parties or their representatives, was a group of seven stones which a third person smeared with blood from the (right?) hands of both,[j] the Arabian mustered all the camels of his people, and on their backs carried water in skins to three places on the line of march, not named by Herodotus, where great reservoirs were dug to receive the water.[k] The spots

[i] See Prideaux's *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, vol. 1 pp. 15, 16. vol. 3 pp. 269, 270, Edit. Oxford 1820. The Nabathæans, however, were not (it would seem) Ishmaelites but an Aramaic people; see De Perceval's *Histoire des Arabes*, vol. 1 pp. 35–38, and comp. vol. 2. pp. 6, 23, where Hedjer, or Hejer, inhabited A. D. 190 by *Nabat*, that is Nabathæans, is supposed to be Strabo's Γέρρα on the Persian gulf, inhabited by "Chaldæans" who carried on a trade by water (according to Aristobulus the follower of Alexander the Great) with Babylonia and up the Euphrates as far as Thapsacus; also (according to Artemidorus) a land trade by camels across Arabia to the now Nabathæan stronghold Petra. See Strabo xvi. 3 § 3; 4 § 18. It may well be supposed that *Gerrha* on the Mediterranean and the western point of the Serbonid Lake, was a Nabathæan establishment, deriving its name from that Gerrha on the Persian gulf, the wealth of which was so greatly extolled Strab. ibid. § 19; and this identity of name illustrates the fact that there were islands in the Persian gulf, Tyrus and Aradus, whose inhabitants claimed the more celebrated cities or isles of the same name on the Phœnician coast as colonies from them. The people of Gerrha on the Persian gulf, had a traffic also by a journey of forty days with Χατραμῶτις, the province now called *Hadhramaut* in Southern Arabia, from which they obtained myrrh; see Strab. xvi. 4 § 4. The Nabathæans of Petra were reckoned in the time of Alexander's first successors at not much more than 10,000 (fighting men); Diodor. xix. 94 § 4.

[j] See Herod. iii. 8. The deities invoked are said to have been *Orotal* and *Alilat*, explained to the Greeks by *Dionysus* and the *Uranian Aphroditè*. But the seven stones set up between the contracting parties, recall to mind the seven altars of Balaam's sacrifices; Numb. xxiii. 1, 14, 29.

[k] λέγεται . . ἐν τῇ ἀνύδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ὀρύξασθαι ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι. Herod. iii. 9. Diodorus reports a description—probably that of Hieronymus of Cardia—relating to the operations of Demetrius and Antigonus B. C. 312–311, of the way in which the Nabathæans by providing themselves with cisterns, ἀγγεῖα, excavated in the ground, and plastered (inside), made the desert, which others could not occupy

thus selected were perhaps the three halting places; which, when Titus marched from Pelusium to Gaza on his way from Alexandria to finish the Jewish war, in A. D. 70—but in the order in which Cambyses reached them, coming from Gaza,—were Rhinocorûra, Ostrakiné, and Mount Kasium. The place last mentioned was one march from Pelusium.[1]

because of its waterless nature, their own safe retreat. We are told that the ground being either of clay or of a soft rock, they made great excavations, ὀρύγματα μέγαλα, therein, the mouths of which were of quite a small form, but the roominess below increased with the depth, till at last it reached the length and breadth of a hundred feet. Having filled these cisterns with rain water, having stopped up the mouths of them, and made them level with the rest of the country, they left them, with marks intelligible to themselves, but such that nobody else could hit upon the meaning. See Diod. xix. 94 §§ 6–8.

[1] See Joseph. Bell. Jud. iv. 11 § 5. Strabo xvi. 2 § 31–33. Instead of Ostrakiné (now *Ras Straki*) Strabo has τὸ Ἔκχυμα, apparently a spot where once there had been a breach in the spit of sand between the lake and the sea, along which (in Strabo's time) the coast-road ran from Rhinocorûra to Kasium. This breach was 200 stades distant from Rhinocorûra on the way to the Kasian temple and mount, and is described by Strabo as filled up again. In the name *Ostrakiné* we have a reference to the earthen-ware in which (as Herodotus relates) water used to be sent from Memphis to this tract of road whereon Ostrakiné was the midmost station; for ὄστρακον is an earthen vessel, a tile, or a potsherd. Josephus, having brought Titus from Kasium to Ostrakiné, remarks

οὗτος ὁ σταθμὸς ἦν ἄνυδρος, ἐπεισάκτοις δὲ ὕδασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι χρῶνται.

Rhinokorura, or Rhinokolura as he calls it, Diodorus describes as possessing a scanty supply of half-brackish water in wells within its wall. This place had marked in ancient times the confines of Egypt and Syria, standing on a certain *wâdî* (a river-bed, or torrent-course) called in Scripture, *Nakhal Mitsrayim* or by the Septuagint translators, variously χειμάρρους Αἰγύπτου, φάραγξ Αἰγύπτου and less properly (like our translators whose experience in England had not given them the idea of river-courses ordinarily dry) ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου. See Numb. xxxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4, 47; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Kings xxiv. 7. At Isaiah xxvii. 12 for *'ad-nakhal Mitsrayim*, we have in the Septuagint the important paraphrase ἕως Ῥινοκορούρων. Perhaps the name with the Hebrews was *Sikhór;* see Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Chron. xiii. 5; Jerem. ii. 18. The Hebrew term *Nakhal* in form as well as meaning resembles the *nàlà* of India usually pronounced "nullah" as if written *nalà*. Both *nàlà* and *nalà*, however, are referred to an Indian or Sanscrit origin. Rhinokorura

We have supposed that, with the greater part of his army at least, Cambyses did not assail Pelusium, but, skirting the marshes which surrounded the place, advanced

is now El-Arish. The ancient name is supposed by Diodorus to be Greek, when he refers it to this legend: There was once a tyrannical king of Egypt named Amasis. We may interpose the remark that the king is evidently the same Amasis of whom Herodotus (confounding him, however, with Amasis the contemporary of Cyrus) tells, that he made a law, obliging every man in Egypt to appear yearly before his Nomarch and prove that he got his living honestly; failing which, he was put to death; Herod. ii. 177. This tyrannical Amosis or Amasis having, through the revolt of his subjects, lost his kingdom to Aktisanes king of the Ethiopians, the latter, whose government was humane and moderate, neither left robbers unpunished nor put them to death, but making a general "gaol-delivery" throughout all Egypt, cut off the noses of such as were found guilty, and planted them in a town which he built at the far end of the desert tract, and which the case of its inhabitants caused to be named by a compound of the Greek terms ῥῖνα, in the acc. sing, "a nose" and κυλοῦειν "to cut short" or "clip off." See Diodorus 1. 60; also Strabo xvi. 2 § 31. The severe Egyptian king appears to be the *Amés* or Ἀμῶς, the first king of the 18th dynasty, under whom with the aid of the Ethiopians (to whom he was allied by an Ethiopian queen) the expulsion of the Shepherds was completed by the taking of their last stronghold, Avaris. See Sir J. G. Wilkinson who in G. Rawlinson's Herodotus vol. 2, p. 354, cites Apion, from Clemens Alexandrinus, as his authority; also Africanus's account of Manetho's 18th dynasty, in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ* vol. 2 p. 142. Apion in his book against the Jews, and in the 4th of his Histories, according to Africanus, placed the "revolt of the Jews" under Moses in the reign of Amosis, p. 162. Another etymology we suppose to have been current among the Greeks of Egypt in Herodotus's time; for his story (which he tells with the apology that "people do say so") that the Arabian brought water to each of the three different spots on the desert route, from a great river running into the Erythræan sea, named Korys and 12 days journey distant, by means of a conduit or "hose" made of skins of all sorts, seems to be connected with the ancient name of El-Arish,—viewed as a compound of ῥῖνοι or ῥῖνα "skins" and Κόρυς the name of the river whence the water came. If we were bound to consider the 12 days' journey as a misrepresented fact, we should suppose that 12 days were consumed by the Arabian in filling the reservoirs, or each of them, with water brought on camels from all the wells or pools of the interior. Under the Nabathæan kings, Rhinokorûra became, so to say, the port of Petra upon the Mediterranean, whence goods that had

towards Dafnas where the Egyptian army lay behind canals. Whether or not he also turned the Birket el Ballah, so as to attack it from the south, it would seem from Ktesias that the canal bridges were betrayed to him. In the battle which followed there fell, according to Ktesias, whose authority most probably talked at random,

come upon camels from Λευκη κωμη, "White village," (a port on the Red Sea outside the gulf of Elah, now Akaba) and perhaps also from the Euphrates and from the coast of the Persian gulf, were shipped for the West. See Strabo xvi. 4 § 45. In very ancient times the whole tract from Rhinokorûra to Pelusium must have been happier, if the Serbonid Lake, once frequented by hippopotami (as appears by the tradition that Typhon had hid himself therein, Herod. iii. 5) or at least the portion of it west of the Kasian mount, which indeed seems alone intended in the name by Herodotus, was once supplied with sweet water from the Pelusian branch of the Nile, as the Lake Marea in Libya was supplied from the Kanopic branch. The wild fancy of Eratosthenes, condemned by Strabo, xvii. 1 § 12, that the waters of the lakes made by the overflow of the Euphrates on its Arabian side, found their way under-ground to the Serbonid Lake, seems at least to suppose a tolerably sweet water then in this receptacle. To what has been said of Ostrakiné and Rhinokorûra, we add, that Rhaphia, or Rhapheia, is represented in some modern maps by a place named *Refah* and the etymology of which might carry us back to the "giants," the Rephaim of Gen. xiv. 5; xv. 20; Deut. ii. 11, 20; iii. 11. 13; Josh. xii. 4; xiii. 12; xvii. 15; xviii. 16; many of whom, being perhaps Avites, survived among the Philistines; Josh. xi. 21, 22; xiii. 3. The place is called under the Romans by Josephus, "The beginning of Syria;" while on the other side of "these waterless parts of Syria," to use his phrase, is the Kasian mount, which Herodotus under the Persian empire assigns for the border of Egypt. As to the Iênysus of Herodotus, which it is plain was at least near to Raphia, we would add the remark, that *Khán-Yunas*, five miles from *Refah* on the road to Gaza, though a name referred (as G. Rawlinson says) to the history of Jonah who was vomited by the fish upon the Syrian shore, as the similar name *Khán Nabî Yunas*, which has taken the place of the ancient Porphyrion north of Sidon, is likewise accounted for in its neighbourhood (see Dr Wilson's "Lands of the Bible," vol. 2, p. 211) may nevertheless be descended in fact by Musulman corruption from the Herodotean name, and may mark, if not the exact locality yet, the neighbourhood of Iênysus. As to the two next σταθμοὶ of a part at least (perhaps the largest) of Cambyses' army beyond Rhinokolûra marching upon Egypt, they were probably outside (that is, inland of) the Serbonid Lake.

fifty thousand of the Egyptians and seven thousand Persians.

From the field of their defeat, the Egyptians fled in disorder to Memphis, which in a straight line is 85 miles distant from Tel Defeineh. Crossed by that line at last, the Nile, up to the point of crossing, may be regarded as an arc, and the line as its subtending chord. Going up towards Memphis by the curve of the river, one notes Bubastis and On or Rabek, the Heliopolis of the Ptolemæan period, among the cities which the pursuers must have occupied on their advance. But no incident of the one army's retreat or of the other's pursuit, nor other result of the victory is detailed. Pelusium must have fallen, and the fleet which obeyed the orders of Cambyses must now at least have sailed up the river. But we are told no more than this; that the Egyptians being cooped up in Memphis, Cambyses sent a galley of Mytiléné up the river into the city, with a herald on board bearing his summons to them to surrender. Then the Egyptians, as soon as they saw the vessel was come in, poured out thick upon it from the walled quarter of the city, the White Fort, destroyed the vessel, tore the men of it limb from limb, and carried them off like butcher's meat within the walls. So they and their king Psammenitus, were besieged and in time surrendered. Afterwards, the Libyans of the country to the west of the Delta, terrified at what had befallen Egypt, gave themselves up without fighting, undertook a tribute, (probably the same they had hitherto paid to the king of Egypt,) and sent presents to their new lord which he accepted in a friendly manner. Further west, the Greeks of Kyréné and of Barka followed the example, but their present, 500 minæ of silver, or 50,000 drachmas, was rudely received,—as Herodotus supposed, on account of its small amount, for Cambyses threw it himself by handfuls among the soldiers. Perhaps, what moved his disdain was not its amount but its being in the shape of coin. Of the gold and silver which they received in tribute, the kings of Persia (from the time at least of Darius son of Hystaspes)

coined enough to supply their wants; and perhaps they had mints in some of the provincial capitals. But money was a vulgar commodity, which they made no great store of for future occasions. In that great branch of their expenditure, the exercise of kingly munificence, besides apparel of various dye, material, and workmanship, articles of ostentatious use or ornament, made of the precious metals, were thought the most handsome and gratifying presents. For safe-keeping, too, as well as for store and to support the king's own splendour, such articles were considered a good form wherein to hoard their bullion. So now, with the goldsmith's aid, in India, the poor man's savings are converted into personal ornaments for himself, his children, and his wife, to be turned back again into money in a day of distress.[m]

Along with his capital, Psammenitus fell into the hands of Cambyses. He had been six months king; a statement which may mean, that of the calendar year in which he succeeded to the throne of his father, six months had elapsed when Memphis was taken. It so happens that the 365 days of that calendar year of Egypt very nearly coincided with those of the Julian year in which Egypt was conquered by Cambyses; for the first of Thoth E. N.

[m] Strabo xv. 3 § 21. Herod. iii. 96. Add Herod. vii. 28, iv. 160. Thucyd. viii. 28. Xenoph. Anab. i. 3 § 21; i. 7 § 18; vii. 6 § 1; Plutarch. vit. Cimon. 10. § 11; Agesil. 15 § 7; Artax. 20 § 4. Arrian, Exp. Alex. iv. 18 § 7. Money, however, when likely to be acceptable, was given in a piece of plate, not to wound the delicacy of the person to whom it was offered. Thus, Artaxerxes Mnemon rewarded a poor man's zeal by sending him 1000 darics in a gold cup: Plutarch, Artax. cap. 5. So, a Persian refugee, who had got into the claws of the συκοφάνται at Athens, seeking the protection of Cimon son of Miltiades, set down upon the ground at his door a pair of cups, one full of silver darics, the other of gold. We may imagine, if we will, that the silver imperial coin was in a silver, the gold in a gold cup. Cimon who, unlike most public men of the Greek republics, was above a bribe, though most ready to give, asked the Persian with a smile whether he wanted a hireling or a friend. He said a friend, and Cimon rejoined, Won't you then take all this back with you? I will use it if I have any occasion, after I have made myself your friend. Plutarch, Cim. cap. 10.

223, coincided with the 2nd of the January of B. C. 525. It may be understood, then, that in June or July of B. C. 525 Cambyses became Psammenitus's master, and lord of all that had belonged to Psammenitus.

On the tenth day after the capture of the White Fort of Memphis, this mastery and lordship was solemnly exhibited. The punishment of the conquered king and his adherents was made a spectacle for the people of Memphis and the Persian army. Psammenitus and the great men of Egypt had their lives spared but were put to a moral torture. They were placed in front of the city to behold their daughters, in the attire of slaves and carrying pitchers, issue forth from the fort to fetch water. Next, among two thousand of the people, (ten Egyptians of distinction for every single man of the Mytilenian crew that, coming in the galley with the message of Cambyses to the city, had been torn to pieces) they saw their sons included. These two thousand, like a string of beasts, with bridles in their lips, and a rope running from head to head round the necks of all, were led past Psammenitus and his company towards the place where, by the sentence of the king of Persia's judges, they were to be put to death. Psammenitus alone bore all with calmness; but afterwards, seeing a former boon-companion pass along begging of the soldiers, he burst into tears. The story, which was an Egyptian one, went on to relate, that Cambyses having sent to question him, he excused himself for his composure at first, and for his being overcome at last, saying that his own misfortunes were too great to be bewailed, but his companion's case, reduced at the threshold of old age from wealth to beggary, was a fit matter for lamentation.

Cambyses relished the reply; nay, seeing tears shed by Persians who were present, and by Crœsus, who thirty years before, like Psammenitus, had lost a kingdom, and now was attending upon the son of Cyrus as he had attended upon Cyrus, he began to relent. He would have saved Psammenitus's son from the death to which he had been doomed; but it was too late; of the two thousand he

had been dealt upon, the first. The father, however, was brought to Cambyses, and thenceforth was one of those that ate at the king's table. He might even have been made governor of Egypt, if he could have been quiet; for, though his father Amasis had offended, it was a custom which the Persians had inherited from earlier empires and which is acknowledged in regard of the Mongol princes by the emperors of modern China, to honour the sons of kings; but he was detected (how long after, it is not stated) inciting the Egyptians to revolt. He had his reward; for Cambyses made him drink "bull's blood," and he died immediately.

Not only was Psammenitus treated with at least something of the consideration due to his birth and former dignity, but it appears from the inscription on a statuette in the Vatican Museum at Rome (cited by Sir J. G. Wilkinson) that Cambyses confirmed the Egyptian dignitaries in their respective offices, and himself consented to accept from the priests the titles, and to undertake the part, of a native monarch in religious and other public business or ceremonials. At Sais, the seat of the dethroned dynasty—whither he went (as Herodotus relates) from Memphis—with a policy analogous to that of a Mongol or Manchoo conqueror of China under the tuition of Chinese ministers, he presented offerings to Neith, the great goddess of the place, and performed the usual libations in her temple to the Lord of ages, like the kings who had ruled before him; turning out all those who had built houses within the precincts, and purifying the place for the performance of the customary rites.[n] Previously,

[n] Sir J. G. Wilkinson in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2 pp 390 and 409. He adds from the same statuette inscription, That Cambyses went also into the holy places, and apparently to the tomb of Osiris (which was in the temple-precinct behind the sanctuary of Neith at Sais; see Herod. ii. 170, 171) and seems to have been initiated into the mysteries of Osiris, of which there were the former and less, and the after and greater mysteries. Cambyses also received the title of *Phra* (or Pharaoh) that is, "The Sun," with the Egyptian prenomen *Remesot* or *Remesto*, that is, "Born of the Sun," added to his name *Cambath*; according to the

on his arrival (according to Herodotus) he had entered and taken possession of the house of Psammenitus's father, the late king Amasis, who had provoked the Persian invasion. Thus, a palace that the Pharaoh Apries or Hophra had inherited from his ancestors before the revolution whereby Amasis came into power,[o] passed next by conquest to Cambyses, and was of course his residence during his stay at Sais. Before him, here, he is said to have caused the recently embalmed body of Amasis to be brought from the court of the temple of Neith, where not only Apries and the kings his fathers had been buried, but Amasis also had provided himself a tomb.[p] Then he proceeded to chastise the mummy as he might have punished a living traitor. He caused it to be flogged, stabbed, and in every way outraged. Indeed, in their eagerness to depict the Persian manner of punishing, Herodotus's informants forgot that the priests and kings of Egypt had their heads and bodies shaved; they affirmed that the tormentors plucked off the hair of the corpse. At last, they said, Cambyses ordered the abused mummy to be burnt, though by so doing, according to the Magi at least, he defiled an element which the Persians worshipped as a god.

Amasis had been the vassal of Nebukhadrezzar and the ally of Belshazzar's stepfather, the regent Nabonedus. Perhaps, after Belshazzar's death and Nabonedus's surrender to the Medes, he had owned the supremacy, first of the Mede Darius, and then of the Persian Cyrus. In the end, he may have been tempted by the mis-rule of Cambyses to withhold presents or to disregard commands. Xenophon tells us (at the end of the Cyropædia) that after

custom of giving two ovals or royal names to each king. For the mysteries of Osiris, see Sir J. G. Wilkinson in his *Manners &c of the ancient Egyptians*, 2nd Series, vol. 1 p. 327 and vol. 2 p. 321; also in G. Rawlinson's Herodotus vol. 2. pp 259, 260, and 293, being his notes on ii. 171; and chap 3. sect. 10 of his Appendix to the Euterpè or second book of Herodotus.

[o] Herod. ii. 163, 169; iii. 16.

[p] Herod. ii. 169.

Cyrus's death, immediately his sons began to quarrel; cities also and nations began to revolt, by whom Cyrus had been regarded as a father; and all things changed for the worse. Egypt may have been one of the nations attached to the empire by the personal character of Cyrus, and afterwards estranged.

That Cambyses should have punished the dead body of Amasis because he was not able to revenge himself upon the living man, is not incredible, if among the Persians the bodies of the impaled were left exposed to sight long after death; if Xerxes caused the head to be struck off the corpse of Leonidas and to be set upon a pole; and if Artaxerxes Mnemon hung up in like manner the head and hand of the brother who had attempted to deprive him of throne and life. Before the supremacy of the Medes and Persians, the body of Nebukhadrezzar's rebellious vassal, Jehoiakim king of Judah, seems to have been deprived of burial; or when his son Jeconiah yielded up Jerusalem, to have been taken out of its tomb.[q]

But Cambyses may have pretended to exhibit, or may in mockery have assumed, the power and function of Osiris, as Lord of the region of the departed. Or he may simply have determined to reverse the sentence of the

[q] As to Leonidas, Xerxes, it is said,

ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας Λεωνίδεω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναστανρῶσαι.

See Herod. vii. 238; for Cyrus the Younger, Xenoph. Anab. iii. 1 § 17; for Jehoiakim, Jerem. xxii, 18, 19, xxxvi. 30. If 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7, referred to the eleventh and not, as seems certain, to the third year of his reign, one should suppose that Jehoiakim died in chains at Jerusalem, and was cast out by his Babylonian captors to the birds and to the dogs. But probably, Jehoiakim was killed a-field in some encounter with one of the bands which harassed the revolted territory; bands of Chaldæans, Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites; and his body, not having been recovered, was purposely or by negligence left unburied; see 2 Kings xxiv. 2. In the following 6th verse it is recorded, that he slept with his fathers; but it is not added, as usual, that he was buried. Also in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8 his death is not expressly mentioned, but it is observable that the Septuagint version has this additional clause—

καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωακὶμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Γανοζαὴ (Alex. MS. Γανοζὰν) μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ.

We must regard *Ganozae* or *Ganozan* as the name of a place.

forty-two judges at the funeral of Amasis, who had allowed the deceased, as innocent, to have his corpse ferried across the sacred lake and thence committed to the sepulchre.[r]

X.

THE head-quarters of Cambyses remained in Egypt for three whole years—from B. C. 525 to B. C. 522. From Egypt he looked beyond. His most eager gaze was toward the south; the region traversed, before it entered Egypt, by the Nile, of which the annual inundation was around him. He also looked westward, it is said, beyond the parts of Libya where the Greek cities Kyrênè and Barka, his new and furthest vassals, held the sway; and he proposed at once to despatch the fleet to reduce Carthage, that capital of all the Phœnician settlements in the islands or on the southern and western coasts of the Mediterranean. But he was bent mainly on recovering that dominion in the south, which of old, in the prosperous times of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, the Pharaohs of Egypt had possessed on the Upper Nile. There, parted from the seat of the parent stock on the Lower Euphrates, had dwelt for centuries a division of the Ethiopians, the children of Kûsh, of which the warlike fame had been diffused as far as to Nineveh. Whether these Ethiopians had originally reached the Nile valley by way of the Isthmus of Suez, or rather along the coast of Arabia and thence crossing to points on the western shores of the Arabian gulf and of that land-locked portion of the

[r] Diod. i. 72 §§ 4–6; 92 §§ 1–5. As to the burning of Amasis's corpse, observe that Manetho related how at the city of Eilethyia, *Seneb, Sebn,* or *Soven* (now *El-Kab*) it was a custom to burn human beings alive, calling them *Typhonian;* withal clearing away and dispersing their ashes with a winnowing instrument. This was done publicly at a particular season during the dog-days; Plutarch de Is. et Os. § 73. This story of Manetho's and Diodorus's (i. 88) that red-haired men were formerly sacrificed at the tomb of Osiris, is disbelieved by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, who appeals to Herod. ii. 45.

Southern Ocean which is now traversed to and fro by native vessels from Kach [a] to Zanzibar,—the gulf called by us the Red Sea divided them from others of their race in Arabia, and the ocean, from the Ethiopians of the Persian empire.[b]

To the proposed present use of his naval forces, how-

[a] Written also *Cutch*, the port of which is *Mandivee*.

[b] Homer accounts for an absence of Poseidôn, from a muster of the gods in the halls of Zeus (his brother) thus;

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἐόντας,
Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.

Odyss. i. 22–24.

The sea-god was gone to take his place, and feast on the Æthiopian hecatombs of bulls and lambs; which, it seems, often called away the gods from Olympus, where the Greeks had stationed them. Thus Thetis tells Achilles;

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
χθιζὸς ἔβη, μετὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἕποντο.

Il. i. 423–424.

So Iris refuses a seat at the feast of the Winds,—and why?

. . . εἶμι γὰρ αὖτις ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα,
Αἰθιόπων ἐς γαῖαν, ὅθι ῥέζουσ' ἑκατόμβας
ἀθανάτοις, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ μεταδαίσομαι ἱερῶν.

Il. xxiii. 205–207.

As to the poet's ἐς Ὠκεανὸν and ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα, Herodotus describes the Μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας against whom the expedition of Cambyses was supposed to be directed, as οἰκημένους Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ, iii. 17, and he says of Cambyses, ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἴσχατα τῆς γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι, iii. 25, which seems to shew that the poet's ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν were in his thoughts. For Herodotus's notion of the division of the race into an eastern and a western people, see Herod. iii. 94, 97 and vii. 69, 70. His description of the situation of the African Ethiopians recalls our Lord's βασίλισσα νότου who, to hear the wisdom of Solomon, came ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, S. Matt. xii. 42; S. Luke xi. 31. She is called in the Septuagint version of 1 Kings x. 1, 4, 10, 13, and 2 Chron. ix. 1, 3, 9, 12, βασίλισσα Σαβά, which (though usually referred to Arabian Σαβαῖοι of Strabo xvi. 4 § 2 and Diod. iii. 46,) Josephus turns into τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βασιλεύουσαν γυναῖκα, Antiq. viii. 6 § 5; having before asserted,

Αἰθίοπες ὧν ἦρξεν (Χοῦσος παῖς Χάμου) ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντων Χουσαῖοι καλοῦνται.

Antiq. i. 6 § 2; also, that Σαβὰ was a royal city of Æthiopia, since (by Cambyses as he, like Strabo, supposes) called Meroè, Antiq. ii. 10 § 2; also that

Σάβας Χούσου παῖς Σαβαίους ἔκτισε, . . Σαβάθας δὲ Σαβαθηνοὺς· ὀνομάζονται δὲ Ἀστάβοροι παρ' Ἕλλησιν

ever, the Phœnicians in the fleet of Cambyses demurred. Their cities, planted on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, were bound by blood-relationship, by sworn

(from the Astaboras, the affluent of the Nile which forms the island or tween-river region of Meroè)

. . . Νεβρώδης δὲ Χούσου υἱὸς ὑπομείνας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίοις ἐτυράννησε.

Antiq. i. 6 § 2. Thus, we recognize in the Queen of the south or Queen of Sheba, one like the Candacè queen of Æthiopia of Acts viii. 27; on which passage there is this scholium published by Alberti and Cramer,

οὕτω Βίων ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰθιοπικῶν· Αἰθίοπες τοὺς βασιλέων πατέρας οὐκ ἐκφαίνουσίν ἀλλ' ὡς ὄντας υἱοὺς ἡλίου παραδιδόασι· ἑκάστου δὲ τὴν μητέρα καλοῦσι Κανδάκην.

See Fragm. Historic. Græc. vol. 4, p. 351, 5; and comp. Strabo xvii. 1 § 54. The kings of Egypt towards the close of the twenty-first dynasty, about the time of Solomon and of the queen of Sheba, were perhaps dependent upon Ethiopia. Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us, they were *military pontiffs*, having the titles "High Priest of Ammon" and "Commander of the soldiers;" G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2 p. 375. At Meroè (written *Meru* or *Merua*) Lepsius tells us from the inscriptions (whence he gathered about thirty different names of kings and queens and learnt much about the manner of succession and form of government) the king was withal *First Priest of Ammon*. If his consort survived him, she succeeded him in the government, and the male heir to the throne only took the second place beside her; if she died first, the son, as it appears, succeeded; who, even in the life-time of his father, bore the royal shields and titles, and was Second Priest of Ammon. See "Letters from Egypt, Æthiopia &c." by Dr Richard Lepsius p. 206. Eng. Trans. Bohn, London 1853. After the account of the unstrung bow sent by the μακρόβιοι Αἰθίοπες to Cambyses—not to mention the four-cubit bows bent by the foot which Strabo and Diodorus tell of, Strabo xvii. 2 § 3, Diod. iii. 8 § 4; and the elephant-hunter's bow, requiring three men to use it, Strabo xvi. 4 § 10—one might be tempted to rationalize, and to impute error to Herodotus, because (with his countrymen, as the above-cited Bion the Solian in his Ethiopica who called them ἀθάνατοι) he understood them to be so "long-lived" as to attain very frequently the age of 120 years and more. We might suspect the title to have at first referred not to their *lives* βίοι but their *bows* βιοὶ. But in the times to which the Greek traditional knowledge of the Ethiopians ascended, there may have been the remembrance at least, of the enjoyment of a longer span of life by their ancestors; such as is ascribed in the Shooking, to the successive Chinese emperors Yao, Shun and Yu. About the time when the "audax Iapeti genus" were conquered by the gods of the dynasty honoured by Homer's contemporaries, the ancestors of the Homeric Greeks and Homeric Æthiopians (of the eastern division, at least) must have been nearer neighbours. May not βαρβαροι, the Greek

treaties, and undoubtedly by the dearest commercial interests, not to molest their colonies in the west, of which Carthage on the Libyan continent was the queen. As they had given themselves of their free will to the Persians, in a great measure, probably, out of hatred to their former Chaldæo-Assyrian masters, it was thought ungrateful (as it was certainly imprudent and perhaps impracticable) to compel the service of their ships and crews. Therefore, as the remainder of the fleet, including Æolians, Ionians and Cypriot Greeks,[c] was considered no match for the navy of Carthage, all thought was laid aside of penetrating further to the west, and the expedition to the south became the sole purpose of the Persian conqueror.

We assume the identity of the "long-lived Ethiopians," of whom Herodotus speaks in his third book, (or at least of the Ethiopians Cambyses proposed to invade) with the Ethiopians of the second book whose metropolis was Meroè, and who, having entertained the large division of Egyptian soldiery that deserted from Psammetikhus, planted them (it was said) as far beyond Meroè up the Nile as Meroè itself was distant up the river from the Egyptian

name for "foreigners," be identical with the Berbers of Africa? The civilization of which the earliest Greeks had a tradition or with which they had some intercourse, seems to have been Kûshite, perhaps of the kingdom founded at Ur (now Mugheir) of Lower Chaldæa. Under *Æthiops* Stephen of Byzantium tells us, Ethiopia was said to be the first land that became solid (Αἰθιοπίαν γῆν πρώτην παγῆναι) and the Ethiopians were the first who honoured the gods and used laws. Comp. Diod. iii. 2 §§ 1, 2. He then names Favorinus, a contemporary of the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, as (apparently in his 'Various Histories') calling Mithras and Phlegyas the founders of these institutions. See Frag. Historic. Gr. Tom. iii. p. 583. The name *Mithras* (of which *Phlegyas* seems to be a Greek equivalent) shows the story to be Asiatic. The Æthiopian correspondent would be *Ra*, the Sun.

[c] Herod. ii. 1; iii. 19. The Greeks of Cyprus seem to have sought the protection of the Persians against Amasis, who according to Herod. ii. 182 (but at what epoch in his long reign it does not appear) took Cyprus and made it his tributary. The Æolians and Ionians were reduced by the Medes after the fall of their Lydian sovereign, Crœsus, in B. C. 554.

border.[d] No other theory seems possible, and the general (though mistaken) belief in the times of Strabo, Diodorus, and Josephus, that Meroè was so named by Cambyses, may be held to be founded in the fact, that Meroè either was his object or lay upon his road. We suspect that when he penned his third book, the Thalia, Herodotus had not

[d] Herod. ii. 29–31. For a more exact account of the country occupied by the Egyptian deserters in Ethiopia, see the geographer Artemidorus in Strabo xvi. 4 § 8, whence it would seem to follow that they lived upon the Blue Nile in Abyssynia, though one might have been led by Herodotus to place them on the White Nile, which receives (it would appear) a large accession of waters from the west in about N. Lat. 9. Eratosthenes placed them in another island above the island Meroè; that is, between the Blue and the White Nile; Strabo xvii. 1 § 8. The Blue Nile, (and below the junction of the Blue with the White River) the united waters of the Nile, as far down at least as the confluence of the *Astaboras*, the eastern boundary of the Isle or Tween-river region of Meroè, bordered the isle of Meroè to the west, and would seem to have been called locally the *Astapùs*. For Diodorus tells us 2. 37 § 9. that the inhabitants of the island called Meroè were so far from giving any account of the source of the Nile, that they termed the river Astapùs, which was interpreted ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ὕδωρ and was understood to indicate an unknown source. One might have thought the darker colour of the water suggested the name. Asta must have signified "water" in Ethiopian, for we have also the rivers Astaboras and Astasobas; Strabo xvi. 4 § 8; and xvii. 2 § 2. The latter element of the name Astapùs, connected with the idea of blackness, is perhaps related to *Hapi*, the name of the Nile-god in hieroglyphics. That the Nile was called Astapùs in Æthiopia, was attested by Juba king, first of Numidia, afterwards of Mauritania; see Pliny v. 10. That the island Meroè lay between the Astaboras on the east, and the Astapùs on the west, was also the account given by Eratosthenes, who, however, added, that some said it was the Astasobas, not the Astapùs, that was the western boundary; and that the Astapùs was a river (now called the White Nile)

ῥέοντα ἔκ τινων λιμνῶν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ κατ' εὐθεῖαν σῶμα τοῦ Νείλου τοῦτον ποιεῖν.

See Strabo xvii. 1 § 2. The dispute whether the island Meroè was bounded on the west by the Astapùs or by the Astasobas, seems to be a dispute whether the special name of the Blue or the White Nile, was the name of the river below their junction. If the Astapùs, however, was the Blue Nile, then, the Astasobas must have been the White Nile. The lakes in the south from which the more direct stream of the Nile proceeded, will be the lake discovered by Capt. Speke.

yet acquired the geographical notions which he has left us on the Ethiopians in his second book, the Euterpè; just as there is certainly a notice in his first book, the Clio, of the revolt of the Medes in the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes—when (as we shall see below) they owned Frawartish for their king, which must have come to the historian's knowledge after the composition of the Thalia.[e]

The Persian conqueror is related to have sent to Elephantinè, a town and islet in the Nile on the border of Egypt and Ethiopia, for a few of its people called *Ikhthyophagi* or "fish-eaters." The name is usually found not on a river as the Nile,[f] but on a sea-coast as within the entrance of the Arabian gulf on the Ethiopian side. These "fish-eaters," because they understood the Ethiopian language as well as the Egyptian, he made the bearers, or attendants on the bearers, of a present which he sent as a mark of his royal favour to the Æthiopian king. The present is said to have consisted of five articles, a purple robe, with necklace and bracelets of gold, an alabaster vase of sweet ointment, and a jar of palm wine—luxuries such as the sender loved. The messengers were expected to bring back an account of what they had been able to see—as the daily banquet called the Table of the Sun, outside the city, where flesh of every kind was found boiled and ready, by all who came for a share after sunrise; the prison where all the captives wore fetters of gold; the glass pillars inclosing their dead, and standing around the city; for the pyramids at Meroè were not built till centuries afterwards. But it was of course expected further, that they would bring pledges of submission from the swarthy king. The tale which Herodotus has repeated, does not mention any demand of earth and water, the first overture made by the successors of Cambyses to nations hitherto independent, when it was intended to annex them.

[e] Herod. i. 130, and Mr Grote's Hist. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 304, note, cited thereon by G. Rawlinson.

[f] There were among the Babylonians three clans, ἁλιεῖς, who lived upon fish; see Herod. i. 200.

What the Ethiopian, however, is said to have sent back, was an unstrung bow. This, perhaps, meant that he left it to Cambyses to decide whether there should be peace or whether bows should be bent and arrows discharged. If, as it is related, the Persian was expressly challenged to bend the bow, this was not to prove the strength of any single bowman but to dare his whole host. The unstrung bow is found to be the hieroglyphic emblem of Ethiopia.[g]

On their return, the ambassadors or spies of Cambyses delivered the bow to their master with the reply (whatever it was) wherewith the present of the Ethiopian was accompanied. Immediately, the king full of wrath, leaving the shipping at Memphis, set forth to march against the Ethiopians, without having ordered any supplies of food, or considered the distance to be traversed. Arrived at Thebes in Upper Egypt, he detached a division of his army, "five myriads" as the story counted it, with an ultimate purpose which it is difficult to credit, that is, to capture the spot in the Libyan desert where stood the temple of Ammon, to make slaves of the inhabitants, a half-Egyptian half-Ethiopian race,[h] and to burn the temple.

The purpose, if intended, might have been accomplished (one would suppose) much more easily by a small force starting from Memphis. But since the Libyans (as we have seen) had already made their submission, one cannot but think that the people of Ammon were involved in the act, and were now the subjects of Cambyses. The force despatched from Thebes, after a seven days' march westward across the sand, arrived at "Oasis city," ἐς Οασιν πόλιν,

[g] See Sir J. G. Wilkinson (in G. Rawlinson's Herod.) on ii. 106 and iii. 21. In the latter note he tells us, "Mr Harris suggests that the unstrung bow, sent by the king of Ethiopia, accords with the emblem of his country, a symbol of peace and at the same time a defiance, when accompanied by the message to the Persians to string it as easily as he did." Compare the conduct of the Scythians of Cimmeria who, instead of earth and water, sent Darius son of Hystaspes, a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. Herod. iv. 126, 131.

[h] Herod. ii. 42.

the island of the Blessed, μακάρων νῆσον, as it was termed, the *Wah* which takes now the name of its town *el Khargeh* for its distinctive addition. So far the force proceeded, but nobody pretended to say what became of it afterwards, for it neither arrived among the Ammonians nor returned to Egypt. The people of Ammon said, that a mighty south wind buried it with sand about half-way between the Wah el-Khargeh and their own spot, now called Siwah. We may be excused for inclining to prefer our own supposition, that the force, being destined only to occupy the Wah el-Khargeh and the Wah el-Dakhel, went no further; and that, if so large a division as five myriads was left behind by Cambyses at Thebes, on his way to Ethiopia, it remained for the most part at that capital of the Upper country, to maintain the Persian conquest and to link a chain of communication from Memphis with the army that not only went on to the southern frontier, but (a portion of it at least) invaded Ethiopia. A small detachment from this corps of occupation in Upper Egypt, would alone be despatched to hold the Wah el-Khargeh, though, this principal Oasis being (as it seems) a sacred spot venerated as an image at least of Amenti—that western land of happy spirits, the realm of Osiris—it was perhaps not prudent to leave it without a garrison, exposed to Libyan invasion, or a place of refuge for disaffected Egyptians.

The army which left Thebes for the south, commanded by Cambyses in person, went against the Ethiopians, with the special purpose (as we have concluded) to subdue Meroê. It seems to have followed the course of the river upward, for no mention is made of any want of water; and this is the road to Meroê which Herodotus describes in the second book. Before the army had accomplished a fifth of the distance,[1] and therefore, perhaps, a fifth also of 'the near sixty days' at which the journey to Meroê is reckoned by Herodotus, all supplies of food were consumed.

[1] Strabo supposed the expedition to have terminated between Pselkhis (Dakheh) and Prémnis or Primis (Ibrim) Strabo xvii. 1 § 54.

Next, the baggage animals were eaten. Still, Cambyses went on, till the soldiers who supported themselves as long as they could on the vegetation of the country, when they came to the sand, began in some of the decades to cast lots for the man who should be eaten by the other nine. Then he gave up the expedition, and, with the loss of a large number of men, returned to Thebes. We are told in the account of the tributes in the reign of Darius, that certain Ethiopians adjoining Egypt, who, still in Herodotus's time, every third year brought the present of two quarts of gold nuggets, two hundred logs of ebony, twenty big elephants' tusks, and five Ethiopian boys, had been subdued by Cambyses on his way against the "long-lived Æthiopians." The historian adds that these conquered Ethiopians lived "about Nysa the sacred," and celebrated their festivals in honour of Dionysus. By this name he means Osiris.[j]

From Thebes, Cambyses went down to Memphis, and there gave the Greek vessels his permission to depart. It is to be presumed that Darius the son of Hystaspes had accompanied the king, and thus had passed through the length of Egypt twice.

XI.

PRESENTLY after their return to Memphis, they beheld the numerous Egyptian population clothed in their gayest apparel, and occupied (with much noise no doubt, as well

j Herod. iii. 97; with ii. 42, 144. Elsewhere our historian mentions "Nysa above Egypt in Ethiopia" as the place to which Dionysus son of Semelé was said to have been carried, when he had been inclosed and sewn up in the thigh of Zeus; Herod. ii. 146. Observe, that the town to which the existing rock-necropolis at Benihassan in Middle Egypt belonged and which lay opposite on the left bank of the Nile, Lepsius says is named in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, Nus. "Letters from Egypt," &c. p. 112.

as joyful exultation) in feasts. This sudden rejoicing which was evidently national, certainly not appointed by his authority, Cambyses, it is said, suspected to be occasioned by the news of his failure in Ethiopia. He called for the officers in charge of the city, and demanded how it had happened that when he was at Memphis before, there had never been anything of the sort, whereas now, when he had lost a multitude of soldiers before his arrival, the city had set about making merry. The magistrates answered that a god of their's had appeared, who had long been accustomed to manifest himself, and that whenever an appearance happened, it was the manner of the Egyptians to testify their joy by feasting. Cambyses told them that they lied, and as liars he ordered them to be put to death. The priests were summoned to his presence next, and, on their giving the same answer that he had received from the city authorities, he said that no tame god should visit the people of Egypt without his knowledge, and ordered the Apis (for so they called their god) to be brought up. They obeyed, and Cambyses, when he saw that it was a calf, drew his poniard, made a thrust at the brute and wounded it in the thigh. Then he laughed, exclaiming against the stupidity of the Egyptians, for worshipping a god of flesh and blood, that was not proof against steel; but he added that they should not make a fool of him, and bade flog the priests, and if anybody was caught making riot or festival, to kill him. So the Egyptians had their tumultuous holiday broken off; the priests were punished, and the wounded Apis was laid in his temple to waste away and die. He was then secretly buried by the priests. "The burial place (of these sacred bulls) has been lately discovered by M. Mariette, close to the pyramids of Abooseer near Memphis. It is an arched gallery, 2000 feet in length, in one direction; and about twenty feet in height and breadth. On each side is a series of chambers or recesses, every one containing an immense granite or basalt sar-

cophagus, 15 feet by 8, in which the body of the Apis was deposited." [a]

At the funeral of a dead Apis, when publicly conducted, the mysterious death of Osiris was bewailed and lamented anew.[b] Indeed, this was of course; for it was asserted

[a] So relates Sir J. G. Wilkinson on Herod. iii. 29 in G. Rawlinson's Herodotus. The sacred bulls were embalmed. A certain Pétésis, in a Leyden papyrus quoted by Letronne, is styled

ἀρχιταφιαστὴς τοῦ Ὀσοράπιος καὶ Ὀσοραμνεύιος Θεῶν μεγίστων.

[b] Diod. i. 21 §§ 6, 9, 10; an important passage on the subject of the sacred animals in Egypt. It would seem from this, that all the sacred animals represented Osiris. We may at least believe as much of all the animals adored or venerated in the most ancient times. Plutarch states, that of the sacred animals, Apis and a few others were sacred to Osiris, while the greater number were assigned to Typhon, as incarnations of Typhon or animated by his spirit. See Plut. de Isid. et Osirid. § 73. Mnevis was one of Plutarch's few. See Diod. i. 21 § 10. Plut. de Isid. § 33. Of the sacred animals, some were held to be gods, others sacred only; see Strabo. xvii. 1 § 22, who reckons the bulls Apis at Memphis, and Mnevis at Heliopolis, and the cow of the worshippers of Aphroditê (Athor) at Momemphis, as gods. The latter takes the place of the he-goat at Mendes, which (according to Manetho as reported by Africanus) was esteemed a god under the tenth king from Menes, whereas Strabo counts it one of the local worships of Egypt, that the Mendesians honour a goat and a he-goat; Strab. xvii. 1 § 40. Of the two, it was the he-goat that was specially honoured; Strabo xvii. 1 § 19. Compare Herod. ii. 42. 46. Sir J. G. Wilkinson denies that the god and he-goat Mendes was Khem, the god of generation, (apparently, Ham son of Noah) worshipped at Khemmis or Panopolis in Upper Egypt, though the Greeks identified them alike with their Pan. Perhaps, the god Mendes was Osiris with the attributes of Khem; see Herod. ii. 48. Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us that some *phallic* figures have been found which, from their head-dress and face of green wax, appear to represent Osiris. They are filled with grain, probably first-fruits, and were buried in the ground near the Necropolis of Thebes. But he adds, he knows of no similar figure of Osiris on the monuments; *Ancient Eg.* 2nd series vol. 2, p. 300, note. We read that by many—no doubt on account of the *phallus* (see Plut. de Is. et Os. § 18, § 12) Osiris was identified (like Khem) with the Greek god Pan; Diod. i. 25 § 2. If so, the mourning at the death of the Mendesian he-goat is explained. Plutarch seems to assert, that the he-goat at Mendes was called Apis, no less than the bull at Memphis; de Isid. § 73.

that Apis was the same as Osiris,[c] and we find the animal termed an image and a likeness of the soul of Osiris,[d] and also a likeness of Osiris with a soul in it.[e] Some said that when Osiris died (slain by his brother Typhon or Seth) his soul transmigrated into this bull; to which theory the explanation was necessarily added, that whenever a new Apis was appointed, the transmigration was repeated.[f] But the more authentic doctrine imagined a miraculous conception of every successive Apis. Thus Herodotus tells us, Apis was born a calf of a cow that became thenceforward unable to conceive seed; and that the Egyptians' story was this, that a flash from the sky comes down upon a cow which therefrom gives birth to the Apis.[g] In the time of Strabo, the dam and her deified progeny were kept in separate chapels entered from the same court. This was adjacent to, or (as Herodotus

[c] Strabo xvii. 1 § 31. Osiris was also worshipped in the form of a man with a bull's head. This figure is accompanied with the name *Apis-Osiris.* See Sir J. G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egt.* second series, vol. 1 p. 347, and Plate 31. Compare the *Osor-apis* and *Osora-Mnevis* of some Greek papyri cited by Letronne, on line 31 of the Rosetta stone Gr. inscription—which inscription is added to the first vol. of the *Fragmenta Historic. Græcorum,* Paris, 1841.

[d] εἴδωλον τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς.

Plut. de Isid. et Osir. § 20. What the priests in general taught was

εὔμορφον εἰκόνα χρὴ νομίζειν τῆς Ὀσίριδος ψυχῆς τὸν Ἄπιν.

[e] De Isid. et Osir. § 43.

τὸν δὲ Ἄπιν εἰκόνα μὲν Ὀσίριδος ἔμψυχον εἶναι,

(compare the title given to the king on the Rosetta stone Gr. Inscription line 3, εἰκὼν ζῶσα τοῦ Διός)

γενέσθαι δὲ ὅταν φῶς ἐρείσῃ γόνιμον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης καὶ καθάψηται βοὸς ἐργάσης.

More is added as to an imaginary connection of Osiris with the Moon, as well as of the Moon with Apis.

[f] Diod. i. 85 § 4.

[g] Herod. iii. 28. The *flash* σίλας, of Herodotus is by Plutarch (cited in a former note) brought from the moon. Herodotus does not say a word to connect Apis with Osiris; though he is not to be supposed ignorant of the doctrine. He probably suppressed it as a part of the mystery of the death of Osiris; whose name he refuses to give in connection with the tomb of the god in the temple of Neith at Sais. Herod. ii. 170. There were many such tombs of Osiris in Egypt.

testifies) opposite the south propylæum of the great temple of Phthah at Memphis.[h] Thus, the selected calf which (except certain white marks on the forehead and elsewhere) was always black, as Osiris also is frequently represented,[i] was held to be an incarnation of Osiris.

[h] Strabo xvii. 1 § 81; Herod. ii. 153, where we are told that this *court*, αὐλή, the work of the first Psammetikhus of the dynasty dethroned by Cambyses, was all surrounded by a colonnade and full of *figures*, τύπων, (hieroglyphics). The colonnade was composed of colossal figures, twelve cubits high, instead of pillars. This apparently is the Ἀπιεῖον, the sumptuous embellishment of which is recited as one of the merits of the Ptolemy in the Rosetta stone inscription line 33. The σηκοὶ, of Strabo which we have rendered "chapels" are termed "delubra" and "thalami" by Pliny viii. 46.

[i] For the colour of the figures of Osiris, black or else green, see Sir J. G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Eg.* 2nd series, vol. 1. p. 340, and compare Plut. de Isid. et Osir. § 33 as to the former colour. For that of the Apis bull, see Herod. iii. 20 and Strabo, xvii. 1 § 31 with whom Plutarch sufficiently agrees, de Isid. et Os. § 43. Accordingly, male beeves for sacrifice, previously inspected by a priest to see that they were free from every mark of Apis—might not have a single black hair; Herod. ii. 38. "A black bull," says Sir J. G. Wilkinson, "with a white crescent on its shoulder, or a white spot upon the shoulder and others on the haunch, the nose, round the eye, and on its legs, carrying a dead body covered with a red pall, is sometimes represented at the foot of a mummy-case or on a board deposited in the tomb. This" [is an Apis; as is proved by the white crescent on the right side,—the principal mark spoken of by Pliny viii. 46 and Ammianus Marcellinus xxii. 14 previously quoted by Sir J. G. Wilkinson. And it] "appears to be the Apis in some office connected with Osiris as Ruler of Amenti. It runs in haste over the hills on its way to the 'Western Region' where Osiris presided." See *Ancient Egyptians*, second Series, vol. 1 p. 359. At vol. 2 p. 315 he adds; "the name of this bull is shewn by the sculptures in the Oasis, to be Apis the type of Osiris." We seem here to see the Apis performing a function of Horus son of Osiris rather than of Osiris himself.

The colour of this emblem of Osiris seems indicated by the name *Apis* of which the hieroglyphics are read *Hapi*. For Ἀστάπους *Astapus*, the ancient name at Meroë of the Blue Nile, and also (apparently) of the river below the point where the Blue and White Niles become one, was explained "Water from the Dark," ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ὕδωρ, Diod. i. 37 § 9; and if so, the latter element must be the one which indicated the dark; because the former element is repeated in the Astaboras and the

The worship of the Apis existed in the age of the earliest activity of arts and knowledge in Egypt; for it

Astasobas, other rivers of Ethiopia. And here let us add, that the Nile god's hieroglyphic name is taken to be *Hapi-Moôu*, (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd series, vol. 2. p. 56) of which compound the latter portion is the Coptic word signifying "water." The god Nile is represented of a blue colour, and Sir J. G. Wilkinson notes a fact which leads us to believe, that the name Νεῖλος, *Nilus* of the river and the god, indicates that blue colour which from the depth of the water seems to belong to large rivers. "In many eastern languages," says he, "*Nil* or *Neel* still signifies blue;" Ibid. p. 57. Accordingly, in Duncan Forbes's Hindustani Dictionary, p. 551, we have the word, and a long string of others of which it is an element. As a substantive *Nil* is "indigo, blue." It is also an adjective like *Nîlà*, rendered "blue, black, or dark blue;" and it is referred to the Persian and Sanscrit languages. The old Coptic *Hapi*, then, seems to be an equivalent of the Aryan word *Nîlà*. One might have thought that the latter came into use under the Persian dominion, which began in B. C. 525; but in Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon we are referred for a much earlier use of the name among the Greeks, to Hesiod's Theogony, line 338, where the Νεῖλος heads a catalogue of twenty-five rivers, the children of Oceanus and Tethys. But the age of the poem, still more of the passage, may be doubtful.

A double god or double river Nile seems indicated by Wilkinson's plate 57. In the temple of Luxor, too, at Thebes, Sir J. G. Wilkinson tells us, are two figures of this deity—one going before, the other following behind; the foremost of a red hue, bearing two children in his arms, one of them a child of Amenoph the third; the hinder one blue-coloured, carrying the sacred *Taus* or emblems of life. These two, Sir J. G. Wilkinson thinks, indicate the Nile, turbid in the inundation and limpid when within its banks. However, one is tempted to think that we have here the White and the Blue Nile, or *Bahr el Abiad*, and *Bahr el Azrek*, or Astasobas(?) and Astapûs. On these Sir J. G. Wilkinson observes; "The term *Azrek* applied to the eastern branch of the Nile which comes from the Lake Dembea in Abyssinia, signifies 'black' in opposition to the *Abiâd* or 'White' river; for though *àzrek* also signifies 'dark blue,' it has not that signification when opposed to 'white.' In proof of which it is only necessary to add, that a 'black' horse is styled *àzrek* as well as *aswed* and the same term is applied to anything in the sense of our 'jet black.'" *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd series, vol. 2, p. 58. However, to our theory of a two-fold Nile indicated by the Egyptian monuments, it may be objected, that three figures would have been required, if the division of its waters in Ethiopia was to be represented. We would answer, that the most northerly affluent, the Astaboras, close to its mouth in the month of

seems to have received some special sanction or authority at about the time of the building of the great pyramid at Gizeh.[j]

Now this, along with that of the bull Mnevis—the most ancient worship, of which animals were the object, in Egypt,—may be fitly compared to some obelisk of the same country covered with hieroglyphics, or to some Chaldæan or Assyrian cylinder bearing an ancient history

January, was found by Dr Lepsius shrunk into a very narrow channel within a broad bed which in the rainy season is quite full. In March, he adds, it is almost dried up; a little stagnant water alone remaining. Letters from Egypt, Eng. Tr. p. 146. The White as well as the Blue Nile must have been well known to Amenoph III, above-mentioned, for he extended his conquests far to the south; see Sir J. G. Wilkinson's Appendix to second book of Herod. chap. viii. § 21.

There was a connection between the Black Water as well as the Black Bull and Osiris; see Plut. de Isid. et Osiris §§ 33, 64. Also, between the Black Water and the Black Bull. Thus, the new-found Apis bull was taken first to the city of the Nile, to be there visited by women only, for forty days; Diod. i. 85 §§ 2, 3.

[j] Under the second king of the second dynasty, who stands the tenth in a line of Thinite kings beginning with Menes, it was related by Manetho according to Africanus,

οἱ βόες Ἄπις ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Μνεῦις ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιος τράγος ἐνομίσθησαν εἶναι θεοί.

Instead of the last three words (not to speak of his other variations) Eusebius has θεοὶ ἐνομίσθησαν, which seem to signify "were held or believed to be gods," but with the εἶναι, which is unnecessary to this meaning, perhaps they convey such a meaning as "were decreed to be gods." The "great pyramid" (at Gizeh) was built under the two brothers *Suphis*, the second and third kings of Manetho's fourth dynasty. This family, however, who were Memphites, are believed by Mr Stuart Poole and Sir J. G. Wilkinson to have been the contemporaries of the second family of Thinite kings and of the kings of Elephantinê, that is, of Manetho's second and fifth dynasties. The dynasty of Elephantinê, one would suppose to be the authorities who supplied the many blocks from the cataracts of Syênê which have been employed in the pyramids at Gizeh. See the 8th chap. §§ 4–10 of Sir J. G. Wilkinson's Appendix to Herod. ii. in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2. For Manetho's Egyptian dynasties, as reported by both Africanus and Eusebius, see Georgius the Syncellus, ed. Dindorf. Bonn, 1829. From the Syncellus they are given in the *Fragm. Historic. Græc.* tom. ii; also as reported by Africanus, in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ* tom. ii.

in one of the species of cuneiform writing. But in the time of Cambyses, the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the cuneiform characters of the various descriptions used by Persians and Medes, by Assyrians, by Kissians, and by learned Chaldæans, were respectively quite intelligible to the nations or classes that used them. The worship of Apis on the contrary, carried in it a sense which, it is probable, was unknown not only to all the learned Egyptians of that time, but even to all the books which antiquity had bequeathed. We have compared this worship to a document in hieroglyphic or in cuneiform writing, long unintelligible, but the key to which has recently been obtained. We might, perhaps, more aptly compare it to a roll of vellum which carries below its modern contents another writing half-erased. And the key, though it has perhaps never been applied, has been in the possession of the Church of God, the New Israel, for 1800 years. By the aid of it we will presently shew the worship of Osiris incarnate in the form and nature of a bull to be based upon, and, therefore, even while perverting, to attest most amazingly the reality of an institution and promise, which (as the Scriptures of ancient Israel enable us to discern) the Creator gave to the parents of the human race; which was fulfilled after the lapse of thousands of years; and the fulfilment of which (the foundation of every hope of safety or of glory beyond our change at death) the people on the earth whom the God and Father hath given to His Son, His new Israelites, have ever since commemorated, and will still commemorate, especially at that Table, among them called the Lord's Table—till their Lord the Son of the Father, Jesus of Nazareth, from where He sitteth now at the Father's right hand, shall return to finish His victory upon earth and to receive His people, holy and in immortal bodies, to Himself and to His Father's everlasting kingdom. The institution, attested, nay actually explained in some degree, by that in which Apis-worship originated, was animal sacrifice. The promise was a Saviour, a Bruiser of the serpent's

head. But the Saviour was to be a Sacrifice; the Conqueror of the Serpent-enemy was to suffer in order to conquer. Thus, the animal sacrificed was a type or image of the Saviour Who was to appear. The arbitrary division of animals into clean and unclean, and the destination of the clean to the purposes of sacrifices and sacrificial feasts, predicted the holiness of the Saviour; also the Life, and with the Life the new Flesh and Blood to be by Him communicated. The young bull, or ram, or he-goat, that a man brought from his herd or his flock, to slay it at the altar unto God, was but an image or an earnest of "the Lamb of God Which was to take away the sins of the world," Which, as Abraham told his son Isaac, "God would provide," and Which proved to be no less in respect to Almighty God, than Isaac the only-begotten was in relation to Abraham. The ram which Abraham sacrificed instead of his son, exhibited (being such a substitute) a son of man; but that son of man, Isaac himself, exhibited Another that was to appear; One in Whom a Person of the Triune Godhead, the Son of the Father, had taken on Him man's soul and body in a Virgin's womb, that He might become God's Messiah or Christ among men—a Man anointed by God for functions wherein He was never to be superseded, those of God's Prophet, Priest and King, in a people to be taken by the God and Father out of every nation, and tribe, and kindred of mankind. When we affirm that the sacrifices offered ever since the time when our first parents, having been seduced into sin by the Serpent, received the promise of a Saviour and were clothed in the skins of what we see plainly to have been the first sacrifices,—when we affirm that the sacrifices of Abel, and of Noah, and of Abraham, no less than the sacrifices which Almighty God ordained among the children of Jacob surnamed Israel, by His servant Moses, were, one and all, images of the Lord Jesus Who died upon the cross at Jerusalem more than eighteen centuries ago—we do so on the authority of our Lord's revelation

in the books of the New Testament,[k] that covenant, by accepting which from the Most High, any man of any nation may join himself to Israel, to the Church that waited for, and, when He came, submitted itself to God's Messiah. In the New Testament revelation is found the solution of the mystery and the fulfilment of the Divine promises, which attach to the ceremonial worship instituted by God before the Law, but sanctioned anew by the Law among those strangers descended from Abraham, from Isaac, and from Jacob, whom, for the sake of His promise to their fathers, He had wrested out of the grasp of the cruel Pharaohs to be His own people and had led forth from Egypt under Moses. We learn—what those descendants from the selected people who reject the Messiah Jesus, and retain exclusively the name of Jews, refuse to believe—that He Who died and rose again, the Incarnate Son of God, was promised and betokened beforehand, as we have said, in every animal sacrificed to God, not only under the Law but according to the custom of their fathers by men of the older ages, up to Noah the survivor of the deluge ; and again, upward through the antediluvian generations, not only to Abel son of Adam, whose sacrifice of the firstlings of his flock accorded with the will of God, but even to our first father Adam himself. For, we repeat it, when Adam by infraction of the law of his life in the paradise of Eden, had fallen into the bondage of the serpent Satan, had made himself a sinner, from whom a race of sinners and bondsmen to Satan must descend, his bodily nakedness was covered by God with the skin of the first sacrifice, the lamb or other animal which was first slain to supply the spiritual as well as the new bodily wants of man. Nor was this all. The ceremony was

[k] For instance, with S. John xix. 36 and 1 Cor. v. 7 compare S. Matt. xxvi. 18, S. Mark xiv. 14, and S. Luke xxii. 11, 15. Or see S. John i. 29, 36, and Revel. v. 8–14, compared with 1 Pet. i. 19, and with the comment in Acts viii. 32–35 on Isai. liii, 7. Lastly, see the Ep. to the Hebrews from ix. 11 to x. 14. comparing Acts xiii. 38, 39.

accompanied by the promise of a woman-born Descendant Who (not without suffering) should conquer the foe to whom Adam had yielded.

It is a fact of great significance, that like the immortality of the human soul and the resurrection of the human body (truths held by tradition in ancient Israel) the typical character of the animal in a sacrifice is not taught in the books of Moses. And yet, not only was it the universal belief of the Egyptians in the days of Moses (to whom all their learning was known) that at death the soul of man survives; also probably (as their embalming of corpses seems to indicate) that the body, re-animated by its soul, will rise again; but a time there had been, when the sacerdotal caste at least, preserved a knowledge, proved by the Christian revelation to be no invention of their's or of their fathers. The mystery was once well known, that in all their sacrifices the calf, lamb, or kid (which would best be a male and a first-born) betokened, or was the earnest of, a benefactor, "the Lord of all," named by them Osiris, that is, according to one etymology, "the many-eyed,"[1] who (having suffered death) was become Judge of the souls of men and king of the Righteous, in Amenti, the region of the deceased. Now certainly, in this Osiris, slain by Typhon and judge of the dead, we have not merely a memory of righteous Abel slain by his wicked brother Cain, but also an anticipation of the promised Son of Adam, the Trampler on the serpent's head, the Son and Messiah of God, Who, before He returned triumphant over death as well as over sin, to exercise all authority in heaven and upon earth, as Son of Man at the Right Hand of God, in a dialogue with the unbelieving and accusing Jews on earth (which ended with His declaration, "Before Abraham came into being, I am;") had seemed to intimate that in patriarchal times there existed a greater knowledge than ancient Israel possessed (except under a veil) of God's intended grace to men. For He affirmed, "Your

[1] See Plut. de Isid. et Osir. §§ 12, 19.

father Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it and was glad." [m]

We have asserted that of old the Egyptians saw their idea of the promised Redeemer in the animal at a sacrifice. It is through their after-conduct that we are enabled to discern this. As, by a corruption of that mysterious rite which our Lord instituted and left among us,—wherein we eat of His Body and drink of His Blood, in the faith of His promise, "He that eateth Me shall live by Me; He that eateth My Body and drinketh My Blood hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day;" [n]—the Bread which by His blessing signifies His Body, is in a large part of Christendom not always broken, distributed, and eaten, with thanksgiving according to the original ordinance, but is also kept to be looked at and to be worshipped; even so, at a very early epoch in Egypt the selected animals, that had been beheld perhaps with awe because of their typical character in the mystery of their sacrifice, began to be reverenced on their own account, became too sacred for the very purpose for which they had been consecrated. Some, above all, were kept to be gazed upon, to be tended, and to be worshipped. As Romish doctors deify the uneaten Eucharist, so Egyptian sages deified young bulls at Memphis and Heliopolis, or deified a he-goat at Mendes. In general, among the nations the abuse of sacrifice was to offer it "to devils and not to God." But, by this abuse, the sacrificial animal itself was turned into what the Hebrew Scriptures call more especially an "abomination." Indeed by Moses himself it was termed, not the god or worshipped object but, "the abomination of the Egyptians." [o]

[m] S. John viii. 56, 58.

[n] S. John vi. 54, 57.

[o] Exod. viii. 26. For sacrifice unto devils, see Levit. xvii. 7; Deut. xxxii. 17, which last is cited by S. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 20. Compare 2 Chron. xi. 15, and Psalm cvi. 37. For the special meaning of "an abomination," see, for instance, Deut. vii. 25, 26, and 2 Kings xxiii. 13. The word in the Septuagint translation is βδέλυγμα, the plural of which is used in Exod. viii. 26. Of the places where this word βδέλυγμα is used in the New Testament, compare S. Luke xvi. 15 and Revel. xvii. 4.

The next step the Egyptians were led to, after having deified an animal appointed for sacrifice and exempted it from being sacrificed, was to forbid the employment in that mysterious rite, which had been handed down to them as to other nations from their common ancestors, any animal of the same sort as the venerated individual. It seems to have been argued, that the animal sacrificed, being under a curse and suffering punishment,—being Typhonian, as we find some of them called—should be of a widely different sort (at least, in appearance) from the holy or divine animal. Where the ram was sacred, none of its species were sacrificed, but goats only; while on the contrary, where a he-goat was worshipped, they forebore from goats, and used sheep only for sacrifice.[p] We own

[p] Whoever had a temple of the Theban Zeus, (Note; for the ordinary reading ὅσοι .. ἵδρυνται Gaisford's F. has ὅσοι .. ἵδρυται which suggests that we should read ὅσοις .. ἵδρυται) and all who belonged to the Theban Nome, forbore from sheep, and sacrificed goats; while all who possessed a temple of Mendes, or belonged to the Mendesian Nome, abstained from goats, and sacrificed sheep, Herod. ii. 42. The reason in the case of the worshippers of Mendes is professedly supplied, Herod. ii. 46; and there we are told that the Mendesians venerate all goats: but the males more than the females; and of the males, one in particular, at whose death, indeed, they make a great mourning: apparently (we add) as for Osiris. The reason in the first case, as given by the people of Thebes, according to Herodotus, was that Zeus had consented to be beheld by Herakles, only dressed in the skin of a ram, and holding before him the animal's head. All rams, therefore, to the Thebans were sacred animals, and they do not sacrifice them (or ewes either according to the former statement) except on one day in the year, on the feast of Zeus. Then they enact the legend of Zeus and Herakles anew, they kill a ram, flay it, dress up the image of Zeus with the skin, (he does not add, they mask the face of the image with the ram's head; probably, because he had said that the Egyptians—he had not said the Thebans—made the image of Zeus ram-headed) they bring thereto an image of Herakles; they then all beat themselves for the ram, and bury it in a sacred tomb. This Herodotus relates in ii. 42. We are inclined here again to consider the mourning for the ram, to be like the mourning for Apis, or for the Mendesian goat, as properly a mourning for Osiris, such as he describes, declining, however, to mention the name of the mysterious being lamented, at ii. 61 and ii. 132. He tells us at the same time, that Zeus was by the Egyptians named Amoun, and we know that the great

that the tendency to exempt from being slain at the altar the whole species to which the venerated individual belonged, had not reached to the same length in the case of beeves at Memphis, Heliopolis and throughout Egypt. For, though the bulls Apis and Mnevis were everywhere worshipped as living images, nay, incarnations of Osiris, yet bulls and bull-calves were sacrificed universally. But cows, heifers—in short, all females of the species (which, however, in the original practice of the rite were less fit types of the true Sacrifice than males) were now exempted on the ground that they were sacred to Athor.[q] Perhaps, it is, therefore, the more remarkable that, though all said to belong to Apis, the males should any of them be sacrificed. Yet it must be remembered, that before any one of them could be taken to the altar, he was inspected minutely by a priest appointed to find whether he could be lawfully offered. He might not have any of those established marks, by some at least of which each Apis was distinguished; and he might not have a single hair of black, the principal colour of every Apis.[r] Another particular, which we may regard as a remnant surviving of the ceremonial used when the victim at a sacrifice was still regarded as a type of the good Osiris, is this—During the burning of the bull, all present beat themselves in testimony of grief; that is, apparently, made mourning for the slain Osiris. This mourning, if not always used at

divinity at Thebes was Amoun. But Sir J. G. Wilkinson teaches, that the Ram-headed deity was Noub, Noum, Nou or Kneph, the chief deity throughout Ethiopia, who, and not Amoun, must be the Zeus of Ethiopia mentioned by Herodotus ii. 29. Perhaps the image of Amoun, on the day of his annual festival, had the head of the slaughtered Ram put on him, and so, for the time, looked like Kneph, or became Kneph. By an account in Plut. de Isid. § 21 Kneph was the god of Thebais. That the Zeus of the Ammonians in Libya, though certainly an Amoun, was ram-headed, as Herodotus informs us, that is, had the head of Kneph, may be accounted for by a fact which he reports, that those men of Amoun were half-Egyptian half-Ethiopian in race and speech.

q Herod. ii. 41. He says, Isis for Athor; but this was his mistake.

r Herod. ii. 38.

the sacrifice of a bull, was so during the burning of the one that was sacrificed "at the principal feast of their principal goddess," whose name in this connection, like that of Osiris, Herodotus refrains from uttering, *Isis*.[s]

On the whole, it seems to have been not by logic but only on account of peremptory tradition and through the power of custom, that animals which their and our ancestor Noah would have pronounced unclean and therefore excluded from representing God's own holy sacrifice, whether before the altar or afterwards at the feast, were prevented from becoming the only authorized victims of the corrupted rite among the Egyptians. The pig, for instance, on their new principles, instead of being the exceptional sacrifice to two deities once a year, at the same full-moon,[t] should (as Typhonian) have always been preferred.

Before we quit this topic, another corruption may be noticed of this typical rite which, having been instituted by our Maker in the infancy of mankind, for so many succeeding ages foretold and promised the atonement that (having taken on Him a human nature for the purpose) by over-coming all sin, fulfilling all righteousness, and finally submitting for us to the felon's death, the Son of God has wrought at last. If there were some who, while the promise was yet unfulfilled, deified the typical sufferer and exempted it from the death for which it was appointed, there were others who deified the consuming element by which the wrath of God was figured in the rite. And not only did the sacrificial fire become a deity, as the Agni of the Hindus; it became, moreover, so sacred that (as we have frequently observed) the Magi held it to be defiled by the contact of a dead body. Thus, by the Magian as by the Egyptian refinement, the divine institution was defaced, its homage to the offended Creator

[s] Herod. ii. 40.

[t] The Moon and Dionysos *i. e.* Osiris. see Herod. ii. 47, 48 and compare Ælian *de Animal.* x. 16. Plutarch *de Isid.* § 8 quoted by Wesseling.

given to another, and its instructive and prophetic character destroyed.[u]

XII.

TRACED backward to a primæval knowledge of the Almighty's purpose to redeem mankind from sin and death through the sacrifice of his Son,—a purpose which was not only revealed originally, but also (for its conveyance from age to age till the time for its fulfillment) was embodied in a typical accompaniment of prayer; to us Apis worship is, perhaps, the most valuable of Egyptian monuments; fitted to strengthen our confidence in the infallible truthfulness of our canonical Scriptures, both Hebrew and Greek, both of the Old and of the New Testament—in all things pertaining to God. Thus have we good brought out of evil by over-ruling Providence; for in itself, as the perversion of a Divine institution and the mis-use of a knowledge divinely communicated, it was an abomination. As such, we may be sure, it was regarded by the feeble Israelite colony that, with Zerubbabel the prince of Judah, with Jeshua the priest, and with the prophets Zechariah and Haggai, was re-peopling the villages, and bringing back into cultivation the fields of their fathers in Judah and Benjamin, while in Egypt the son of Hystaspes beheld the Apis scorned and wounded by Cambyses. Darius, probably, would not have been provoked to act as Cambyses did; still less to have the Apis slaughtered and served up at his table, like Okhus a descendant of his, the king who, after a long revolt of Egypt, reconquered it for the Persians shortly before the empire was wrested from them by Alexander the

[u] The unseen agent who prompted the doctrine of the Magian, or the Egyptian prophet is discovered to us, S. Matt. xvi. 22, 23. S. Mark viii. 32, 33. Compare Exodus vii. 11, 22; viii. 7, 18–20.

Macedonian.[a] Nevertheless, owning (as we shall see he did) and honouring above all gods a Great Spirit, the Creator of heaven and earth and of man, he must have viewed with disgust that hideous product of the self-conceited learning which abandons, or tries to improve upon, the revelations of Himself or the directions as to His service that the Creator has vouchsafed to man. But Egypt had better things to shew. At Memphis, at Sais, and elsewhere in the Lower, if not at Thebes and other cities of the Upper Country, we may be sure it was with no dull boorish gaze he beheld the monuments of six and twenty dynasties, produced during the many ages that the arts, grown from antediluvian knowledge, had been cultivated almost uninterruptedly in Egypt. After all the ravage of the Typhon-born[b] shepherds in old time and recently of Assyrian and Chaldæan invasions, the country was still covered with buildings of which even those of a secondary description were probably nobler and inscribed with more ample records than any that the art of conquered nations had yet erected at Agbatana and the simpler Persian capital Pasargadà, where on the free muster-ground his boyhood had been spent. He now gazed upon what undoubtedly he remembered, no less than the marvels of art which Babylon had since displayed to him, when he undertook his works at Behistun, at Susa, and at Persepolis.

It was in Egypt, at Memphis, that Syloson, the banished brother of Polycrates tyrant of Samos, was so lucky as to make a friend of one who had learnt from boyhood that gratitude was an imperative duty. Whether or no Syloson was endeavouring to ingratiate himself among such as had a place near the king's person, he once presented to

[a] The story was told by Dinon in his *Persica:* see Plutarch *de Isid. et Osir.* §§ 11, 31. Dinon was father of Alexander's companion, the historian Clitarkhus; Plin. x. 70.

[b] Compare the "children of Sheth" spoken of by the prophet Balaam Numb. xxiv. 17. Σήθ was an Egyptian name of Typhon, Plut. *de Isid.* §§ 62, 49 and it is the name used in the Septuagint version of Numbers.

Darius a flame-coloured shawl,[c] which had won the admiration of the young noble, so that he desired to buy it. The obligation (as we shall see) was felt, and the giver royally requited, when Darius was king.

The great Cyrus shortly before his death was said to have had a dumb yet very intelligible shew presented to him as he slept, of the future greatness of Darius. The father of Cambyses is said to have beheld the first-born of his cousin Hystaspes with wings on his shoulders which he spread, the one over Asia, the other over Europe. Whether or not the future transfer of the sceptre from his own family to that of Hystaspes was really thus revealed to the founder of the Persian supremacy, the testimony of the holy Scripture of ancient Israel proves how much truth there is in the expressions which the great king made use of afterwards, according to the same story, with reference to his dream; "There are gods," said he "that care for me, and foreshew me all things that are coming upon me."[d] But Cambyses who had slain his brother Smerdis, was not jealous of Darius; and indeed, according to the story, Cyrus had confided his dream to Hystaspes alone.

It is not to be supposed that Cambyses, epileptic, it is said, and (Persian-like) much given to wine, having power to do what he pleased for sport or in earnest, treated the Egyptians in their persons with less crazy fury than he is said to have used to those of his own nation or of the provincial forces. And if he was brutally careless of their lives, we need not wonder at reading that (without as it seems any systematic persecution[e]) he sported with their superstitions and even with their reverence for the dead. We have seen what he did to the mummy of Amasis and to the bull-god Apis, in both which cases he probably

[c] χλανίδα πυρρὴν, Herod. iii. 139.

[d] Herod. i. 209. Compare Xenophon, Cyrop. viii. 7 § 3.

[e] The ravages at Heliopolis and at Thebes, ascribed to Cambyses in the time of Strabo, may be probably, in part at least, referred to later Persian conquerors, especially Okhus. See Strab. xvii. 1 §§ 27, 46.

considered himself to be exercising a merited severity. He would also amuse himself, as he loitered in Egypt, by opening old tombs and examining the mummies as unscrupulously as a modern Arab or Egyptologer. Once he entered the temple of Phthah at Memphis, not (as it would seem) to do mischief, but to spend the hour; and he laughed much at the image, which was very like the pigmy figures the Phœnicians carried about with them at the prows of their triremes. He went in also to the temple of the Kabeiri where-into it was unlawful for any but the priest to enter. Their images (which Herodotus describes as resembling that of Phthah, whose children the Kabeiri were said to be[f]) Cambyses, after much mocking of them, went so far as to set fire to. The relationship in which these Kabeiri at Memphis are placed to the Egyptian Hephæstus (for so Phthah was regarded by Herodotus and his countrymen) is the same which we find asserted between the Kabeiri at Lemnos and the Hephæstus who fell into that island—when Zeus seized him by the leg, according to Homer, and threw him down out of doors from Olympus; or (as the original notion must have been)—when he, the Living Lightning, was hurled by the god from the sky.[g] Whether in Egypt or in Lemnos, the worship

[f] See Herod. iii. 37, and the figures of Pthah-Sokari, in Sir J. G. Wilkinson's note. Of Pthah or Phthah and Pthah-Sokari we have representations in plates 23 and 24A. of the supplement to second series of the *Manners of Ancient Egyptians*. Perhaps, the Kabeiri were said to be children of Phthah, not by the Egyptians, but by the Greeks, who considered Phthah to be their own Hephæstus and believed the Kabeiri to be children of Hephæstus.

[g] For Hephæstus in Lemnos, see Homer, Il. i. 593 with scholium thereon, and Odyss. viii. 283, 284. The scholium on the latter passage mentions the flames of "earth-born fire," rising there naturally out of the ground, as a reason for Hephæstus's love of the place. It had perhaps been imagined once that a thunder-bolt had kindled them. The Sinties of Homer, who entertained Hephæstus, were called by Strabo, 'Sinti,' and described as a Thracian nation, x. 2 § 17. xii. 3 § 20. also vii. fragments 36 and 45. Can there have been any connection between the Sinti, who are placed by Strabo about Abdera in Thrace and on the Strymon, with the Sindi of Herod. iv. 28, who lived on the Asiatic side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus?

of the Kabeiri (or Mighty Ones, as the name is thought to mean) seems to have been imported from Phœnicia.[h]

In his eighth regnal year by Egyptian reckoning, being the 226th of Nabonassar which coincides almost exactly with the year B. C. 522, at about midsummer we find Cambyses in Syria returning from Egypt, where, with Aryandes his governor-in-chief or satrap, perhaps the bulk of his army remained to preserve his conquest. Syria the king probably re-entered, as four years before he had crossed its Egyptian frontier, by the road which ran along the sea-coast under the walls of Gaza or Kadytis of the Philistines. On this road, as he proceeded, he would leave Judah and its capital Jerusalem to the right. Further on, he would enter the country of the Samaritans, from whom we know he had received accusations against the people of Judah at the beginning of his reign. His death was now at hand; and before he died, the nations of Syria had heard another proclaimed king in his place. No complaints, therefore, which the Samaritans may have renewed or sought opportunity to repeat to the king as he passed, would have been of much use. That the Samaritans were prepared to make fresh complaint, appears from the fact that they speedily forwarded a

[h] For the worship of the Kabeiri in Lemnos, see Strabo x. 3 § 21. The appellation Kabeiri, says Sir J. G. Wilkinson on Herod. ii. 51 is the Semitic *Kabir*, "great," a title applied to Astarte, who was worshipped in Samothrace together with Pothos and Phaeton in the most holy ceremonies, according to Pliny xxxvi. 5. Compare for Kabeiri the Hebrew *Abbirim* and *Kabbirim*. According to Philo Byblius's Sankhúniathon, quoted by Eusebius in Præp. Evang. i. 10; pp. 36, a, 38, d, 39, c. the Kabeiri, who first invented a boat, and to whom Bérytus was assigned, were seven sons (followed by an eighth) of Sydyk, interpreted Δίκαιος "the Just," brother of Misôr (*Misr* or Egypt) the father of the Thoyth or Thôth of the Egyptians. Compare, too, Damascius, as cited by Sir J. G. Wilkinson in the note above referred to. Acúsilaus of Argos cited by Strabo x. 3 § 21, made Kabeirô to be mother by Hephæstus of Kamillus (otherwise Kadmillus) and this last to be father of three Kabeiri and three Kabeirid nymphs. Here, perhaps, Kabeiro, "great," is the Ἀστάρτη ἡ μεγίστη of Philo Byblius in Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10; p. 38, c.

petition to the new king, which does not mention the temple at Jerusalem, for the building of which Cyrus's authority could be alleged, but complains that the men of Judah are building and walling a city which the book of the records of the king's fathers (for so, courtly propriety required them to call such as had reigned before him at Babylon and at Nineveh) would prove to have been ever a rebellious city, and to have been destroyed for its rebellions.[1] Of what was affirmed by this petition to be then doing at Jerusalem, the building was true, but the walling of the city was probably false, though the lofty substructions of the temple may have been regarded as a fortress. We believe that it was not till about the year B. C. 458, that the city walls were re-built. Then, indeed, an order for the fortification of the city (induced, perhaps, by the revolt of Egypt) seems to have been issued by Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, about the time when he sent Ezra to Jerusalem.

While Cambyses had been loitering in Egypt, his interests and the duty of his government in the wide extent of his empire had been neglected. He now felt the consequence. The news is said to have reached him, in the shape of a proclamation to the troops by whom he was attended, that one pretending to be that brother whom he had secretly put to death, was now seated on his throne and owned as their king by the Persians and Medes. It is the story told him by the Egyptians which Herodotus appears to follow; and according to that story, Cambyses was now at Agbatana of Syria; which we have already offered reasons for supposing to be the place where

[1] See Ezra iv. 6–16. Here, Akhshurush or Khshurush is Cambyses, who may have assumed the name to signify his descent (by his mother) from Akhshurush or Khshurush the father of Darius the Mede. As the successor of Cambyses was the Magian Gaumata, who pretended to be Smerdis or Bardiya son of Cyrus, the name by which the Samaritans address him, Artakhshashta, that is, Artakhshatra, (or, as the Greeks call it, Artaxerxes) must have been the regal appellation assumed by the impostor on his becoming king.

the Magian fire-worship had been established in the province. Pliny's Agbatana on Mount Carmel, if it existed then, was not out of the king's way. But hearing that his throne was seized, and that the Persians and Medes had renounced their allegiance to him, it was related that he straightway mounted his horse, and in doing so, wounded himself so severely in the thigh with the poniard or short sword he wore (the sheath of which had lost its metal tip) that twenty days after, he died. Josephus places his death at Damascus, which, under the Persians, seems to have been the capital of Syria, and may have been the place where the Magian fire-temple was established in the satrapy. Ktesias acknowledges a death wound in the thigh, inflicted on himself accidentally while the king was endeavouring to amuse his deep despondency. He adds, that death followed on the eleventh day; but he places the event at Babylon. The trilingual notice of the death of Cambyses afforded us by the Behistun inscription, appears to be as yet of doubtful meaning to the expounders. In the Aryan, the clause has been rendered, "Self-wishing to die he died." In the Kissian, being also partly undecipherable, it has been doubtfully translated, "Killing himself he was killed." The words corresponding in the Assyrian have been supposed to mean, "He died, his death was from himself."

The corpse, according to Ktesias, was conveyed to Pasargadà.[1] Certainly, it was in keeping with the assumed character of the usurper, son of Cyrus and brother of Cambyses, to permit this, if not to order it. Darius, being of the body guard and cousin to the deceased, probably attended the corpse. If so, from day to day as they

[1] εἰς Πέρσας, Ktesias's Fragments 29 § 13 Carl Muller's ed. at the end of the Herodotus in the *Bibliotheca Græc. Scriptorum*, published by Didot at Paris. The eunuch Izabates, one of those privy to the death of Smerdis, is represented to have had charge of the body. That Darius accompanied it, we argue from Herodotus, who places Darius in attendance upon Cambyses in Egypt, and brings him to the Magian's court from Persis; Herod. iii. 70, 139.

advanced from the place of decease to the place of sepulture, he must have pondered not merely what may have before been whispered about Smerdis, but all that, as it is said, in the last days of his life Cambyses had confessed or protested; and all that the eunuch Izabates or other confidential servants of the late king may have communicated on the journey. Altogether, there must have been evidence leading him to believe that an imposture was being carried on, by which the rank of the Persian nation in the empire and the interest of many of its great families might not be much affected, but which threatened the worship of Auramazda, the god of the Aryan race, and deprived the stock of the Persian Hakhamanish or Akhæmenes, in its branches as in its top-shoot, not only of the vast increase of power and dignity it had obtained in B. C. 536, through the accession of Cyrus its chief to the throne of Darius the Mede at Babylon, but even of that which it had possessed in the earlier years of Cyrus and under Cyrus's predecessors. When the corpse of the son and successor of Cyrus reached Pasargadà, where Darius's father was seated as governor of the Persians,[k] in that political quality, if not as chief of the Akhæmenian family at Pasargadà, however moderate his natural endowments may have been, the funeral ceremony, it is to be supposed, was conducted under the orders of Hystaspes. Much must have passed of conference between the father and the son. They must have discussed every reason for believing that the true Smerdis was dead, every circumstance of the first appearance, every notable after-act, of the man who claimed to be Smerdis son of Cyrus and occupied the throne in Media as the brother and lawful heir of Cambyses.

[k] Herod. iii. 70.

XIII.

We have traced the course of Darius from Egypt, where he accompanied the living Cambyses, to the capital of Fars, whither he seems to have escorted the king's dead body. And now, when the eight months current of the reign of the pretended brother of Cambyses were drawing towards their end, Darius arrives at this new king's gate from Pasargadâ, the bearer of despatches from his father, and able to report on some matters as the burial of Cambyses from his own knowledge. He re-appears upon the stage of the great drama of Persian history, not now as a mute attendant upon the person of the king, but to be foremost in the scene himself.

But let us go back to the time, when, shortly before the death of Cambyses, while confusion prevailed throughout the empire through mal-administration of affairs and the king's idly protracting his stay in Egypt, the adventurer calling himself Smerdis son of Cyrus first shewed himself and offered to fill the throne which Cambyses seemed to have abandoned. It was in Fars, where probably Hystaspes was already at the head of the provincial administration, that the bold step was taken. This we learn from Darius's Behistun inscription,[a] wherein, after sketching the reign of Cambyses, the royal chronicler proceeds to relate how a Magian named Gaumata arose in *Pishyâ' uwâdâ* on a mountain named Arakadrish. For, from a later passage of the same monument, it is clear, that this town and district was in Parsa, that is Fars or Persis.[b] Here, then, on the 14th day of the month *Viyakhana*, corresponding we think with the 14th of the Egyptian fifth month Tobi E. N. 226 (which day was about the 14th of May B. C. 522) the Magian said to the muster of the people, 'I am Bardiya' (that is, 'I am Smerdis') 'son of Kurush and brother of Ka(m)bujiya.'

[a] Beh. insc. Col. 1. para. 11 Journal R. A. S. vols x and xv.
[b] Beh. inscr. Col. 3. paras. 6 and 7.

According to Herodotus's story, this claim to the throne was devised for the pretender by a brother of his named Patizeithes, who had been left mayor of the palace (probably at Agbatana) by Cambyses when he set out against Amasis king of Egypt. The quality, however, assigned to the brother in this story—steward, factor, or commissioner of the house[c]— may have originated in the name which, according to Darius's statement, was proper to the pretender himself; for in modern Persian, as we have remarked already, *Gumashtah*, as a participle passive, signifies "commissioned," and as a masculine substantive, signifies an "agent" or "factor." Add to this, that the word would become *Gumattah* in a dialect which should be related to the present, as Sanscrit is related to Zend; for a proof whereof this may serve at present, that from the root *vid* "to get," comes, as we learn,[d] the passive participle *vista* in Zend and in Sanscrit *vitta*.

[c] τῶν οἰκίων μετεδωνὸς Herod. iii. 61 and 63; also ἐπίτροπος τῶν οἰκίων, Herod. iii. 63 and 65. That this house was at Agbatana and not at Susa, may be gathered from the story, that the oracle at Buto in Egypt had told Cambyses he should die at Agbatana; which he thought to mean the Median Agbatana, ἐν τοῖσί οἱ ἦν πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, Herod. ii. 64. An indirect proof that the son of Hystaspes was the first Akhæmenian that reigned at Susa, we find in what Plutarch tells (Vit. Alex. cap. 36) apparently on the authority of one of the conqueror's own letters. In B. C. 331 Alexander found at Susa, 5000 talents of Hermionic purple that had been 190 years in store, yet kept its colour new and fresh. Now 190 + B. C. 331 = B. C. 521, the first regnal year of Darius son of Hystaspes. Undoubtedly, the purple (or some of it) was said to have been put in store by the first of the Persians that had reigned at Susa, and that it was consequently 190 years old.

[d] See Dr Donaldson in Journal R. A. S. vol. xvi. p. 3. If, as we have contended, Khshurush and Kurush be the same word in Median and in Persian, we have another illustration. Perhaps, the equivalence of the Bardiya of the Behistun inscription (the Mardus of Æschyl. Pers. 774) with the Smerdis of Herodotus, may be judged another example. A better is the equivalence of Hystaspes or Vishtaspa with Hydaspes or Vidaspa in different Persian dialects. For Lactantius, vii. 15 and 18, by his "Hydaspes king of the Medes" would denote Darius son of Hystaspes, as post-Mahommedan Persian and Arab writers denote him, if any king, by their Gushtasp. Vishtaspa, then, and Vidaspa or

Well, this Magian, the "Gùmashtah" Patizeithes, to pursue the story told by Herodotus, which may be compared with Ktesias's narrative as given in the former part of this work, was possessed of the secret known to few among the Persians, that Smerdis had been put to death. So, having a brother also called Smerdis and very like to Smerdis son of Cyrus in his appearance, he persuaded him to undertake the character of the dead Smerdis, promising so to manage for him as to make him king in place of the mad Cambyses. The particular that between the Magian and Smerdis son of Cyrus there was an identity of name before the one assumed the person of the other, is absent from Ktesias's story, would have been of no use towards accomplishing the purpose of personating the brother of Cambyses, and is plainly a fictitious circumstance introduced to complete the fulfilment of the imaginary dream of Cambyses wherein a messenger came and told him that Smerdis sat upon the king's chair and that his head reached to the sky. Another false particular in Herodotus's narrative is this, that Cambyses was in Egypt when he sent to slay his brother; for the Behistun inscription testifies, that the death of Smerdis happened before Cambyses invaded Egypt; while Ktesias implies no less, in relating that the deed was kept secret for the last five years that Cambyses reigned.[e]

Hydaspes may be considered to be mere dialectic varieties of the same name. But it seems to have been by a mistake of the more familiar Vidaspa for the Sanscrit name of the Jelum, the first great river of the Panjàb, eastward of the Indus, that the Vitasta river was called by the companions of Alexander's invasion, the Hydaspes. See Strabo xv. 1 § 17 &c. According to Cunningham (Ladak p. 111) the Jelum river on its upper course in Kashmir is called Behat, which he regards as a contraction of the Sanscrit Vitasta. Instead of the letter deciphered *t* in the Aryan name Gaumâta, there are two consonants in the Kissian spelling of the name, which consonants Mr Norris expresses by *tt*. See Journal R. A. S. vol. xv, p. 25.

[e] Herod. iii. 30, 64, 65. The home of Cambyses and the throne of Smerdis would have been better placed among the Medes, as it was understood by those for whom the Egyptian prophecy of the place where

Herodotus's account of the usurpation proceeds to relate, that Patizeithes led his brother in the character or (to use a frequent phrase of Herodotus's) "mounted on the name" of Smerdis into the fortified residence of the king which was in his charge, placed him on the kingly chair; and then sent messengers throughout the empire to announce that all men were commanded henceforth to obey Smerdis not Cambyses; and that a release was granted to the provinces from tribute and from military service for the space of three years.[f]

From a comparison of the Behistun inscription with this account, it would appear that Gaumàta, by whomsoever advised and aided, having on the 14th of Viyakhana or May B. C. 522 announced himself in Persis as Smerdis son of Cyrus, and having been favourably received by the people, went thence (followed of course by Persian troops) to Agbatana the seat of the kings of the Medes, from whom Cyrus had inherited the empire. Here, being submissively received by his fellow-conspirator, his brother Patizeithes, he was enthroned with all accustomed ceremony as king of the Persians and Medes, on the 9th day of Garmapada, which day we make to be the 9th of the Egyptian sixth month Mekhir or about the 8th day of June. For the sequel of Darius's testimony on the subject is this; "Afterwards, the whole army (or people[g]) became rebellious, revolting from Ka(m)bujiya to Gaumàta; namely Pàrsa and Màda and the other provinces. On

Cambyses was to die, was manufactured at some date subsequent to the event. But Herodotus's account of the dream makes the messenger come ἐκ Περσέων "from Persia;" and he relates that Cambyses in consequence, sent Prexaspes ἐς Πέρσας "to Persia," and he, arriving "at Susa" slew Smerdis. Here Herodotus, like Xenophon, confounds Susa with Pasargadà. However, the story was plainly told to Herodotus in Egypt; see Herod. iii. 30.

[f] See Herod. iii. 67, and compare Esther ii. 18; also Herod. vi. 59.

[g] The Perso-Aryan word *kára*, of which the Kissian correspondent is *tassunos*, and which Sir H. C. Rawlinson and Mr Norris render "state," "people," seems to be the word translated στρατὸς by Æschylus, Pers. 766 and 773.

the 9th day of Garmapada month, it was, when Gaumàta seized the empire."

According to Herodotus, the Magian's reign terminated in the eighth month; the seven preceding months of his reign being the last seven of the year which would have been the eighth of Cambyses, but of which he reigned in fact only five months.[h] Now this eighth and last month of the Magian reign, which would have been the first month of the ninth regnal year of Cambyses, had Cambyses survived, in Darius's Behistun Inscription is named Bàgayàdish.[i] Therefore, if Herodotus was as well-informed as the minuteness of his statement indicates, Bàgayàdish was the eighth month of the Persian calendar, counting from Garmapada. For Garmapada is marked as the first month of the eight, by the statement of the inscription already quoted, "On the ninth day of Garmapada month it was, when Gaumàta seized the empire." It is true, that five and twenty days before, he had proclaimed himself to be Smerdis in Fars or Pàrsa and the people began to join him; but it was not till the 9th of Garmapada that he sat upon the throne. Bàgayàdish, too, if we may trust Herodotus, coincided with the first month of the calendar of the people from whom he derived his information; that is, as there are tokens throughout his narrative to indicate, the Egyptians. Hence it would appear, that in the year E. N. 227 when, according to Ptolemy's Canon, the Magian yielded to his successor the throne which he had gained by his imposture, the Persian month Bàgayàdish coincided with the first month, the Egyptian Thoth, which in that year coincided with the first thirty days of January B. C. 521. It further appears that the preceding Garmapada was at least nearly identical with Mekhir, the Egyptian sixth month of the preceding E. N. 226 or the June of B. C. 522.

Herodotus's informants the Egyptians hated the Persian rule, and probably had much sympathy with the Magian

[h] See Herod. iii. 66, 67, 68.

[i] Beh. Insc. Col. 1. para. 3.

priesthood. To these feelings in part we may, perhaps, ascribe the historian's account, that the Magian after his death was regretted by all in Asia, except the Persians themselves, because he had displayed great beneficence to all the subjects, that is, the people of the subject provinces. His first act on taking possession of the throne, was, as we have related, to grant to the provinces a three years' release of tribute and military service. From Ezra we may add a measure in which the province of Syria was especially concerned. To what purpose the Samaritans had been ready to solicit Cambyses as he passed them in that province on his return from Egypt, we have already inferred from the letter which they sent to his successor. The Magian (according to a practice which we find continually in use in succeeding times) in addition to or instead of the name which he claimed to be his as a private man—Smerdis or Bardiya—had taken for his regal appellation the name of Artakhshatra. With this name, afterwards well-known to us from Greek writers in the form Artaxerxes, great recollections may have been already associated in the minds of the Aryan race. It is the name under which the Magian appears in the book of Ezra, who lived himself in the reign of Darius's grandson, the first king otherwise known to us by the same name. As Artakhshatra or by their pronunciation Artakhshashta,[j] the Magian seems to have been addressed by the Samaritans. In answer to their petition, they received a royal letter setting forth that, the records having been searched, it was found not only that Jerusalem was a city that had of old oft lifted herself up against kings, and that rebellion had been made therein, but that there had been mighty kings there who had ruled over all westward of the river Euphrates, receiving toll, tribute, and custom. The authorities,

j Ezra iv. 7, 8, 11, 23. The name of Darius's grandson who sent Ezra to Jerusalem, is written *Artakhshasta*, with ס instead of ש; see Ezra vii. 1, 7, 11, 12, 21; viii. 1. So, too, his name is written by Nehemiah ii. 1, xiii. 6.

therefore, in those parts and at Samaria in particular, were strictly commanded to put a stop to the building at Jerusalem, which was not to be resumed without an order from the king. Immediately, therefore, Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the secretary and their companions went up in haste from Samaria to Jerusalem to the men of Judah, and by the authority with which they were armed, made them cease from the building, if not of their own houses, yet certainly of the house of Jehovah, which seems till now to have been languidly advancing.

During the few months of the Magian's reign, Darius asserts that till he himself arrived (that is, as we learn from Herodotus, till he came from Pasargadà) there was not a man, no Persian, no Mede, no one of his own, the Akhæmenian, family, who dared to do any thing towards wresting the kingship from Gaumàta the Magian. Such as had known the former Bardiya or Smerdis, whom Gaumàta personated, he smote mightily, with this thought, "Lest they make me known that I am not Bardiya son of Kurush." So Darius has recorded it. Nor is it difficult to reconcile this testimony with the narrative of Herodotus, if we suppose that in the generation the historian lived in, the descendants of the Persian Six who assisted in the enterprise of Darius, had diffused an exaggerated account of the determination and the promptitude of their ancestors.

The suspicious particulars in the Magian's behaviour, related by Herodotus, are, that he was not in the habit of going forth from the fortress nor of summoning to his presence any one of the notable Persians.[k] It is also added, that in the harem, the women who might know Smerdis were secluded.[l] But, by Herodotus's account, other suspicions must have been afloat in many quarters, created by the dying declaration of Cambyses, that he had slain his brother Smerdis through the agency of Prex-

[k] Herod. iii. 68.

[l] See Herod. iii. 68.

aspes, though the fact was denied by Prexaspes himself.[m] That the imposture was very generally suspected, is assumed by Darius's assertion that nobody dared to move before his arrival. Herodotus has preserved the story, that suspecting the new king to be a Magian whose ears Cyrus had cut off, a Persian nobleman ascertained through his daughter Phædimè who (like the other inmates of the late king's harem) now belonged to the Magian, that her bed-fellow had in fact no ears. This discovery the father, whose name was Otanes, communicated to two others, Gobryas and Aspathines, chief men among the Persians, and his own trusty friends, after which the three proceeded to select each of them another confederate, Intaphernes, Megabyzus, and Hydarnes. Nevertheless, the six who were thus made aware of the imposture by which the throne had been obtained, did nothing (it is admitted) till, on the arrival of Darius from his father's government, having communicated the secret to him, they found he knew all already, and they were forced by him to immediate action.

Meanwhile, (as Herodotus tells the tale) the Magian brothers (who ought we should say to have done this before) determined to make Prexaspes their friend. So they summoned him, and, making him infinite promises of reward, they caused him to swear that he would never

[m] Herod. iii. 65–67. According to Ktesias, three great officers were privy to the act of Cambyses, Artasyras the Hyrcanian (perhaps, like his son in the reign of Xerxes, captain of the guards) and the eunuchs Bagapates, and Izabates. Of these three, Artasyras and Bagapates, who had served the father of Cambyses and Smerdis, favoured the enterprise of the Magian, even before the death of Cambyses. But Izabates, to whom the duty of carrying the body of Cambyses to Pasargadà had been committed, returning to court, betrayed the matter, was dragged from the temple (of the sacred fire?) whither he had fled, and was beheaded. Then followed the conspiracy of the seven, to which Artasyras and Bagapates adhered; See Ktesias's fragments 29 § 12, 13 and see above p. 72. The death of Izabates is the only one of the many executions alluded to in the Behistun inscription, of which we have any record.

breathe their secret to a soul; for he had the certain proof of it in his hands, if he chose to confess what hitherto he had always denied, that he was the person Cambyses had employed to slay Smerdis and that he had accomplished the commission. A second service was then demanded. They told the unhappy man, that they were going to assemble all the Persians under the wall of the fort, and they required him to go up upon a tower and tell the people by a speech, that Smerdis son of Cyrus was their king and no one else, as if he who had always expressed the belief that Smerdis was still alive and denied the killing of him, had now assured himself that he was within those very walls. Prexaspes promised to do his part; but when the moment came, he began his speech with Akhæmenes, told the story of the line of Akhæmenian kings, till he came to Cyrus, and then enlarged upon what Cyrus had done for the Persians. After all this, he told them, that he had hitherto concealed a fact which he found himself now obliged to make known; namely, that compelled by Cambyses to do it, he had slain Smerdis son of Cyrus, and that the Magi were now their kings. Then, with imprecations upon the Persians, if they did not recover the government from the Magi, he threw himself headlong from the tower and sealed his testimony with his death.[n]

Meanwhile Darius and his six companions had already made their prayer "to the gods," according to the expression of Herodotus,[o] but rather, to him whom Darius

[n] As to the imprecations with which Prexaspes concluded, see above p. 70. note; to which it may not be unjustifiable to add the case of S. John's Apocalypse i. 3 and xxii. 18, 19. If the story of the death of Prexaspes have any considerable substance of truth in it, we might suppose him convinced that when he had served their purpose, the Magian brothers would take his life. In Ktesias's narrative, so far as the epitome of Photius preserves it, the only incident resembling the story of Prexaspes, is the fate of the eunuch Izabates; for which see above, p. 72.

[o] Herodotus's expression εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι might be illustrated by the manner in which he makes Cambyses on his death-bed conjure the

himself on almost every occasion unfalteringly declares the author of his success, Auramazda, the god of the Aryans. Thus prepared, they were now on their way, with the pretext of a message from Darius's father to the king, to enter the fort and there to slay the Magian, when they heard the news of what Prexaspes had said and done. Then, Otanes, the most averse from the first to prompt action, advised by all means to pause; while Darius would have no delay. In the midst of the debate there came into sight seven couple of hawks pursuing two couple of vultures, and pulling at their feathers and striking them with the beak. This was owned by all to be a plain prediction of their success, and they went on to the king's fort in good spirits. Ktesias tells us, that Artasyras and Bagabates, who seem to have had the places of greatest trust within, had been gained by the conspirators and admitted them.[p] However, Herodotus's story proceeds thus;—When they presented themselves at the gate of the royal fortress, none asked any questions or opposed their passage, but, in the court within, the eunuchs whose office it was to carry in messages, began to ask them what they wanted and, with threats to the gatekeepers for

Persians, and especially the Akhæmenians, not to put up with the loss of the sovereignty, θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληΐους ἐστικαλέων, Herod. iii. 65. But here as in the saying of Cyrus ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται, Herod. i. 209, the plurality may be changed into unity: for Darius's own account is expressly this, "None about Gaumata the Magian dared act, till I came: *then I prayed to Auramazda;*" Beh. Insc. col. i. para. 13. Under the Persian empire, the Magi taught,

δύο εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ Ὡρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἅιδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος.

So Diogenes Laertius, procem. § 8, citing Aristotle, Hermippus, Eudoxus, and Theopompus. The evil deity is plainly the one propitiated with the sacrifice of twice seven human beings by the wife of Xerxes, that is to say, ὁ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγόμενος εἶναι θεὸς, Herod. vii. 114. See above, p. 158, where it has been noticed, that Darius acknowledges not only a good god in Auramazda, but a god of lies. From these two sources, good and evil gods (or rather, angels) the γενητοὶ θεοὶ of Hecatæus in Diog. Laert. procem. § 9 were thought to have been produced. For this particular, and for the whole subject, see Plutarch *de Isid. et Osir.* §§ 46, 47.

[p] See above p. 72.

having suffered them to pass, attempted to stop them. Then they drew their poniards and, stabbing their opponents on the spot, rushed forward into the hall,[q] where they found the Magian brothers deliberating together. These instantly perceived by the confusion and noise of the eunuchs at the doorway, what the matter was, and betook themselves to resistance. One caught hold of a bow, the other of a spear; the bow was useless in such close quarters; but he who had the spear made a good defence before he was slain, giving Aspathines a thrust in the thigh and hitting Intaphernes on the eye. The other Magian, his bow failing, fled into a dark bed-room which opened into the hall or gallery, but before he could shut the door, Darius and Gobryas rushed in also. Here, while Gobryas grappled with him, Darius stood uncertain, fearing to hurt his comrade, till Gobryas bade him push his weapon e'en through them both, when, risking a blow, he fortunately struck the Magian.

Then, leaving the wounded Intaphernes and Aspathines behind them, in possession of the fort, and with the heads of the two Magians in their hands, Darius, Gobryas, Megabyzus, Hydarnes, and Otanes sallied from the place, with much clatter and outcry. Outside, they called upon the other Persians, telling them what they had done, displaying the heads, and killing every Magian that fell in their way. Their words and their example had soon the desired effect. The Persian soldiery conceived the same fury, drew their poniards and began killing Magians (by whom probably all civil appointments were being rapidly monopolised) wherever they were found, till night put a stop to the massacre.

This day, Herodotus proceeds to relate, the Persians of his time, who were the grand-children of Darius, his comrades, and their followers, still observed unanimously; holding thereon a great festival, which they called the Slaughter of the Magians, and during which no Magian

q ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα. It seems to have been a broad gallery into which bed-closets opened.

could with safety shew himself in the light and open air; but all kept themselves in-doors. By turning to Darius's brief record of these events—besides the contrast between the rude rock-written statement of the king and the eloquent popular narrative, so full of life and circumstance, which Herodotus has set before us—we obtain the day of the month, so carefully remembered every year. "None about Gaumàta dared act," says Darius, "till I appeared. Then I prayed to Auramazdà. Auramazdà was my helper. By favour of Auramazdà on the tenth day of the month Bàgayàdish" (perhaps the tenth also of the Egyptian Thoth E. N. 227 which was the tenth of our Roman January B. C. 521) "with my faithful men, I slew Gaumàta the Magian and the chief of his adherents who were with him."

The place of this slaughter as well as the date is commemorated. It was not Susa, which, accustomed to view that as the seat of Persian royalty, Herodotus may have supposed to be the scene. Neither was it Babylon; nor even, as we might ourselves have preferred to imagine, Agbatana. It was a fort named Siktha'uwatish or Sikthakhotish, in a district of Media called Nisàya. This district, of which the name is written in Greek Νισαία, in Latin *Nisæa*, was a plain in Media, much celebrated by Greek writers for its tall breed of horses.[r] It seems to

[r] See Herod. vii. 40, iii. 106. Arrian tells us, that the Great King formerly had here as many as 150,000 horses, though such had been the depredations and waste of late, that Alexander the Macedonian (in B. C. 325) found there not many more than 50,000 mares. Arrian, citing Herodotus for the phrase, has, ἵππων Νυσαίων *(Nysæan mares)* and πεδίον Νυσαῖον, whereas we read in Herodotus, Νισαῖοι ἵπποι and πεδίον Νίσαιον. But there are MSS extant, both of Herodotus and of Arrian, which have Νησαῖοι, Νησαῖον. The plain was on Alexander's way from Opis, the city on the Tigris, to Ekbatana: see Arrian, Exp. Al. vii. 7 § 6; vii. 8 § 1 and vii. 14 § 1 and apparently further on than Bagistané (Behistun): see Diod. xvii. 110 §§ 5, 6 with which compare the account of the Βαγίστανον ὄρος Diod. ii. 13 §§ 1, 2. Not naming the Nisæan plain, Diodorus yet says of it, that it had formerly 160,000 horses at grass there; though only 60,000 were counted after the arrival of Alexander, who stayed thirty days there, and proceeding thence, reached Ekbatana

have been situated between Bisitûn or Behistun (the Bagistanè of Diodorus) and Hamadan, which is the modern Agbatana. The fort of Sikthakhotish was perhaps the king's peculiar residence in the district, which must have been a royal domain. The situation, between Bagistanè and Agbatana, calls to mind the Khawona (Χαυονα πολιν) of Diodorus; where a rock in the middle of a high plain had been selected for the site of a costly dwelling, and had been inclosed within a park of extraordinary bigness. There, while her eye was able to range over her plantation works and the lines where her followers were encamped, the Assyrian Semiramis, to whom popular credulity ascribed the royal works here no less than at Bagistanè and at Agbatana, was supposed to have long stayed;—indulging herself the while with paramours, successively selected from the ranks of her soldiers and then successively made away with, lest, if time were allowed, the slave of her lust might become the master of her power.[8]

on the seventh day. Another district, Νησαία on the river Okhus (the *Akes* or *Akis* of Herod. iii. 117) and within or adjacent to Hyrkania, is mentioned Strab. xi. 7 §§ 2, 3 but the same is written [Ν]ισαία, Strabo xi. 8 § 3. Also, just like some MSS of Herodotus and Arrian, we find Strabo mentioning the Νησαίους ἵππους as a famous breed which some made to be that of which, in the Persian times, there used to be 50,000 mares feeding in a part of Media, which he calls only a famous horse-pasture or horse-feeding meadow; Strab. xi. 13 § 7 and 14 § 9. But here again, in both these places, a MS is cited which reads Νισαίους &c. In the Beh. Inscription Norris gives in the Kissian Nissaya, and Rawlinson in the Assyrian *Nissai*, as corresponding with the Aryan *Nisaya*.

[8] The "fort," in Aryan *didâ*, at Sikthakotish (col. i. line 58 of the Aryan text) is described in the Kissian not as an *afvarris* (the Greek βαρις) the usual correspondent of *didâ*, but *Yuvanis* which, in the one other instance wherein it occurs, corresponds with the Aryan term *awahanam* (discussed by Sir H. C. Rawlinson in Journal R. A. S. vol. xi. p. 58) and is rendered in Norris's Kissian vocabulary (Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 212) "residence." Perhaps this term *awahana* (with which compare the modern Persian *khâna*) is equivalent to the name Χαονα in Diodor. ii. 13: of which name we have from Isidore of Kharax and Arrian, a compound in the Αξαχαναν or Αξαχοανα of Areia.

CHAPTER II.

I.

THE tumult had subsided, and five clear days[a] had intervened, when the men who had slain the Magian king, the

[a] The month, which, as the Assyrian monogram by which it is represented seems itself to intimate, contained thirty days, was divided into periods of five days; and one of these periods added to twelve months completed the civil year. From Sir J. G. Wilkinson's Appendix to the Euterpé in G. Rawlinson's Herodotus vol. 2, p. 335, is gleaned the following; "The Chinese as well as the Mongolian races always had five-day divisions: and cycles of sixty years instead of centuries. The Aztecs of Mexico had also weeks of five days, four of which made a month; and the year contained eighteen months of twenty days, with five days added at the end, which were were unlucky days as one of them was in Egypt;" namely, the third, the birth-day of Typhon or Seth, that is, says Plutarch, "the Overpowering" καταδυναστεῦον ἢ καταβιαζόμενον Plut. de Isid. et Osir. §§ 12, 41, 49. If the five-day week was adopted by the Aryan immigrants from the Kissian race, there will altogether be indicated, not only a derivation of Aztec science from Mongolian Asiatics, but the same connection between the Kissians and Mongols which Mr Norris and others have inferred by comparison of the language of the Kissian inscriptions with Mongolian vocabularies. But if the five-day week and the Sôs or sixty of years should prove to have been an original feature of the Babylonian computation of time before the era of Nabonassar, the two cycles will indicate a connection by blood between the primitive Chaldæans and the Aztecs or the predecessors of the Aztecs in Mexico. Of such connection, the intermediate links would be represented now by the Mongolian races, if Mexico was reached not through the Ocean of the tropics but by land from the North West.

There are some indications of the use of five as a round number or representative of plurality among the Skyths of Herodotus. Besides the concubines strangled and buried with a deceased king, were five servants. These are apparently represented by the five statuettes found in the tomb of the Skythian king at Panticapæum or Kertch, described

pretended Smerdis son of Cyrus, are next shown us by the story, taking counsel what was to be done on the

in G. Rawlinson's note on Herod. iv. 71, and assigned to a later date than the time of Herodotus. On the first anniversary of the king's death, fifty men and fifty horses were likewise immolated; see Herod. iv. 71, 72. The presents sent by the Skyths (a threefold people, Herod. iv. 5, 7) to Darius, in lieu of the earth and water he had asked, were a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows; Herod. iv. 126, 131. The Getas, or neighbours of the Skyths on the right or south side of the Danube, sent a messenger into the world of the departed to Zamolxis every fifth year. Herod. iv. 94.

The preference and veneration for the number seven, also found among the Persians (see Esther i. 14; Ezra vii. 14; Herod. v. 17) if Vaidik hymns and the Laws of Manu did not furnish many tokens that it was of Aryan tradition also, might have come to the Medes and Persians from the Magi who may have dictated the seven circles of Agbatana (see Herod. i. 98); or from the Khaldæans, to whom we may assign the building at Borsippa called the stages of the seven spheres which Nebukhadrezzar repaired and finished; see G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2, pp. 581–585. With the wise men of Babylon the worth of this number was traditional; compare Genesis ii. 2, 3; Exod. xx. 10, 11; Levit. xxiii. 3, 8, 15, 24, 34–42; xxv. 4–8. Add Tobit xii. 15, the doctrine of which is in part confirmed by Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21; x. 13, 21; xii. 1; also by S. Luke i. 19, 26. It is perhaps confirmed entirely by S. John, Revel. viii. 2, compare Revel. xii. 7.

Thus the five-day, and thence the Greek ten-day, division of the month seems to have had a natural or scientific origin; but the week of seven days to have been a divine institution. Five, the number of the fingers of a man's hand, is the obvious measure of 365 days or revolutions of the earth on its axis which, with a fraction of a day, make up the time of the circuit of the seasons and of the revolution of the earth around the sun. That a five-day week existed among the Chaldæans may be indicated by two facts which we are able to exhibit. 1. Nebukhadrezzar records it (of a strong inner fort 400 *ammas* ("cubits" as in Hebrew) square, which he built on to the palace of his father at Babylon) that he began laying the foundations in a happy month and on an auspicious day, and also finished it in fifteen (that is, thrice five) days. See Nebukhadrezzar's Standard Inscription, in G. Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2, p. 587, and Berosus, as cited by Josephus, Antiq. x. 11 § 1. These fifteen days, however, may have been the light half of a lunar month, 2. But for another indication we offer the ἑορτὴν Σαζεΐαν (Query Σαζαΐαν) at Babylon (compare the Σάζαια of Strabo xi. 8 § 5,) which began on the sixteenth day of the month called (by the Macedonian conquerors) Loüs, and lasted five days, during which time the slaves acted as masters. See Berosus, cited by Athenæus xiv. p. 639, C.

morrow. Herodotus asserts, that, incredible as it might seem to some of his countrymen, there was a debate upon the question whether any and, if any, what change should be made in the form of government that had hitherto obtained. Otanes is said to have proposed democracy; Megabyzus, oligarchy; but Darius objected to the latter as well as to the former advice, and with the assent of the other four, Aspathines, Gobryas, Intaphernes, and Hydarnes, gave sentence. that absolute monarchy, or the undivided and unlimited authority possessed by Cyrus, inherited by Cambyses, usurped by the Magian, should still be maintained. Our historian cannot have imagined that a surrender of the supremacy in Asia—Persian or Perso-Median—was intended by either Otanes or Megabyzus. He must have understood them to desire, that the laws of the empire should be enacted and measures resolved upon, either by a general assembly of Persian freemen or else by a senate of Persian nobles; and that the public business, whether at home in Persis and the provinces or abroad in relation with foreign states, should be conducted by officials, civil and military, to be appointed by, and to be responsible to, such assembly or senate. In this view of the matter, he must at least have mistaken (one would suppose) Perso-Median for Persian, and the united kingdom of the Persians and Medes for Persis alone. But it seems incredible that the proposal was really made, to substitute a Perso-Median republic, whether democratic or oligarchic, for a Perso-Median monarchy. We would rather suppose, that in the perilous circumstances of the moment, it was recommended, for the sake of obtaining support, that the Great King should yield a share of his imperial authority to some larger or smaller body of associates to be found among the Persians and Medes, whether at home, or then and there assembled in arms. By the good-will and co-operation thus purchased, the new king might maintain himself on the throne, which there was no heir of the body of Cyrus to fill;—henceforth conducting the imperial government on a plan

more or less strictly in accordance with that of the kings in Persis, the descendants of Akhæmenes, before Cyrus became king of kings at Agbatana and at Babylon. For it would appear from Xenophon,—and his account was attested by the surviving liberties of Fars, which had been secured (it was said) by a solemn compact with the great Cyrus after the overthrow of the Chaldæo-Assyrian empire—that the old Akhæmenian kings were the chiefs of a warlike and free people represented by their principal families, or (more strictly speaking) by the men and elders of that portion of them who chose and could afford to devote themselves for life to form the free assembly and to conduct the affairs of the nation. The king had probably not the right, and we cannot believe that he had often the power, to infringe the old laws or customs without the consent of the people, that is, the Free Assembly, whose elders (though presided over, it is to be supposed, by himself) in council, in the appointment of persons to be entrusted with any species of authority, or in courts of justice, might do as they thought fit. He was leader of the men in war, and of the youths of the free assembly in the chase. He presided in the ceremonies of the national worship, killing the sacrifices and pronouncing the prayers. But he seems not to have had the right, without consulting the elders or those who formed the senate, οἱ βουλεύοντες γεραίτεροι, to appoint his own substitute when his functions could not conveniently be discharged by himself. When the king of the Medes, the son of Astyages, required the aid of the Persians against the king of Babylon by whom he was threatened, it was this senate that appointed their king's son to the command and determined the number of men both of the Free Assembly and of the commonalty that the nation should spare to accompany him; namely 1000 of the former and 30,000 of the latter; though they left it to the thousand to enlist, each his thirty men; to the general to select one fifth of the 1000; and to these two hundred the choice of the other four-fifths, each picking out of the

free assembly four of his fellows of the military age. In like manner, when the king of Persis, becoming now supreme king, was to reside at Agbatana or Babylon or Susa, and rarely to visit his rude and remote ancestral kingdom, there was a solemn treaty sworn between him and the elders and men in authority of Persis. It was agreed in general that the great king should not attempt καὶ τῶν Περσῶν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων, "to rule the people of Persis, also, for what he could make out of them, like the other nations," but if Persis should be invaded or the overthrow of its laws should be attempted by any one, he should help them with all his might, while on their part, if the empire should be invaded or any of the subject nations should revolt, the people of Persis should be true to themselves and to the king, by rendering all the aid that he might require of them. But we advert to this contract, for the sake of its special article as to the regular conduct of the national sacrifices and prayers. It was agreed, then, that whenever the king visited Persis, he should kill the sacrifices and offer the prayers according to the custom of his predecessors who passed their lives in their own country; but while he was absent another of the Akhæmenian family should take his place, who should be chosen by the elders and authorities of the people in Persis. Thus it would seem that the Great King could not lawfully appoint any one to represent him in the country of his ancestors, who was not of the Akhæmenian family and who was not moreover chosen, or approved, for the purpose, by the people of Persis.[b]

[b] The right to elect, or at least to reject the king's choice, would be less likely to degenerate into an Anglican Chapter election of a Bishop, because besides the "congé d' élire un tel," which the king was perhaps so good as to send them, they had their arms, and the king had no better soldiers than themselves. As to what we have said of the elders, see Cyrop. i. 2 § 14; i. 5 § 5; viii. 5 §§ 22–27. As to their king, in the passage last cited, he is related to have convened

τοὺς γεραιτέρους Περσῶν (*i. e.* τῶν ὁμοτίμων) καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, οἵπερ τῶν μεγίστων κύριοί εἰσι.

and in § 27 they are called τὸ Περσῶν τέλη. For his function at sacrifices, here mentioned, add Cyrop. viii. 7 § 3. For his having been leader in war and in the hunt, see Cyrop. i. 2 §§ 9, 10.

But whether or no, in Bagayádish B. C. 521, there passed any debate among those who had slain Gaumáta, on a limitation for the future of the prerogative of the king in the government of the other provinces, and a participation in his authority to be granted to a more or less limited representative portion of the Persians or Persians and Medes, they decreed according to Herodotus's story, a special exemption to Otanes and his descendants in all future time, whereby, though subject still to the laws of Persis, they were free to refuse obedience to the (further) requirements of any one (in all parts of the empire) should such compliance be disagreeable to them. Neither the king himself nor any officer of the king's was to have the right to command them; that is, to demand service without reference to their own pleasure or inclination. This privilege our historian asserts existed in his time; so that the descendants of the man who proposed a Persian democracy as the depository of the powers of the imperial government, were the only free house among the Persians. Some other privileges are said to have been granted. Thus, Otanes and his descendants were every year to receive from the king the gift which was considered the most honourable among the Persians, part of it being a Median dress. 'Every one of the six, whenever he desired it, was personally to have free access to the king, unless the king should be engaged with one of his wives. Nor was the king to marry in any other family than those of the six who had helped him against the Magian. Whether these were to be hereditary privileges in those six families, it is not stated, though the fact seems probable. But it is certain that two only of Darius's wives, with whom we are acquainted, were daughters of any of the six. Of his other wives, Atossa in particular we have been able to identify with Hadassah, otherwise Esther, a Jewess. She became Darius's wife and queen in the seventh year of his reign, after he had divorced the daughter of Gobryas, who was already his wife during the reign of the Magian. And as to the

privilege of seeing the king when they chose, within the palace, we are told by Herodotus that some time afterwards—later it may be than the date of the graving of the Behistun inscription—Darius's gate-keeper and message-bearer having made use of the permitted plea to exclude Intaphernes, who in the Behistun inscription is placed at the head of the six, the haughty noble would not content himself with the excuse, but in his rage cut off the ears and noses of those household-officers, and hung his clippings in mockery about their necks which no doubt were decorated as befitted attendants of the king's. At the Assyrian court at least, the royal eunuchs of distinction wore ear-rings, armlets, bracelets, and necklaces similar in form to those of the king.[c] Intaphernes, for this violence to the king in the persons of his servants, was arrested with his children and all that belonged to his house being males. Then, after a short interval, required probably for the trial of their head by the king's judges, and used by his wife to supplicate the mercy of the king, they were put to death as traitors,—all but his wife's brother and eldest son, who were granted her alive by the king. Further, we have to remark, that if Darius be Akhshurush or rather Khshurush, the husband of Hadassah, that is Esther—as we suppose ourselves to have proved—we find a law in force twelve years after the accession of Darius, that if any one not expressly summoned by the king, entered into the king's presence as he sat in the inner court of the palace at Susa, the person so adventuring should immediately be put to death, unless the king, by stretching out his sceptre for the visitor to touch, should give him his life. Perhaps, the privilege of entering into the king's presence within the palace had been granted, as Herodotus relates, to the six—possibly to others also whom it may have been designed to honour equally; but, when found to be in practice irksome to the king or dangerous (perhaps after the offence of Intaphernes) was not rescinded, out of respect for the principle that no law of the Medes and Persians might be

[c] Layard's Nineveh and its Remains, vol. 2 p. 326.

changed, which, since the king's mouth was become the fountain of law, implied that the king might not break his word. Nevertheless, it was contrived that the inconvenient privilege should be made innoxious by a new law, the prohibition in the book Esther, according to which the king must interfere to save the life not only of an unprivileged intruder, but even of any survivor of the six who should use his privilege without the king's previous invitation.

Whatever privileges, then, to persons or to families—and they may have been many—passed the council at this time, Herodotus's story shows us that Darius rejected all proposed limitations of the authority of the king of kings in the government of the empire, such as had existed by the laws of the people of Persis for the kings of that country. The authority which he claimed for the Akhæmenian to whom Auramazdâ had granted the succession of Cambyses, appears from the formula which, after some years, when he was firmly established on the throne, we find adopted as the preamble of his inscriptions, and which his successors after his example continued to employ. This preamble contains a clause declaring that "Auramazdâ has made Darius king," to which is added the explanation, "both king and giver of laws," that is, not a king who merely executes, but a king who both ordains and executes the laws. But the expression used implies more than this. The explanatory addition seems to be translated literally, "both king of many and law-giver of many;" and this may imply, that the king described is superior not only to other kings but to other law-givers, a ruler of those who exercise kingly authority over others and a giver of laws to those who in their smaller spheres are law-givers.[d]

[d] The inscriptions to which we allude, are two of Darius's, six belonging to Xerxes, and one to Okhus Artaxerxes. Those of Darius are copied, one from a tablet at the foot of Mount Alwand (anciently Orontes) in the immediate vicinity of Hamadan (the ancient Median capital, Agbatana); the other, from the king's tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam near Persepolis, "the third tomb from the point where the hill abuts on the river." This, by the bye, which has its Kissian and Assyrian versions

But whatever else was resolved upon in the council after the death of Gaumâta the Magian, this was determined,

accompanying it, is not the only inscription on the tomb. There is another in Aryan only, addressed of course to the people of Fars alone, "the only portion of Persian" (*i. e.* Aryan) "cuneiform writing, throughout Irân, which now remains uncopied" (Journal R. A. S. vol. x p. 312). For the Aryan and Kissian texts of the inscriptions of Darius first referred to, see vol. x pp. 285, 291; vol. xv pp. 150, 146; and vol. xix. p. 264. The passage we have cited from them, is translated from the Aryan by Sir H. C. Rawlinson thus; "Who hath made Darius king, as well the king of the people as the lawgiver of the people." But from his own account it may be gleaned, that the Aryan word *parunâm* or (as in some of the inscriptions it is written) *paruwanâm* would be more closely rendered by the Latin *plurium*, that is, "of many." This conclusion is confirmed by Mr E. Norris's interlinear word-for-word version of the corresponding passage in the Kissian; "Who Darius king him hath made; one of many king, one of many law-giver." Moreover, that by this is meant, "king of many kings and law-giver of many lawgivers," would appear from the corresponding passage of the Assyrian copy in Mr H. Fox Talbot's interlinear Latin translation, which is merely this; "*Qui Darium regem regum multorum creavit.*" If here the assertion of the legislative as well as proper kingly authority of Darius be omitted, it is, perhaps, because the conquered nations speaking Assyrian and other cognate tongues, or supposed to understand them, needed not to be told that the king was their master, and his word their law. But the nations that had been principals and seconds, first, in the wars that accomplished the independence of the Persians and Medes and such of the Kissian race as formed an older population in Fars if not in Media; secondly, in the wars wherein was achieved the conquest of Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt, with the peoples on them respectively dependent—were in a different position. To the Aryan races, at least, it was necessary to insist on the Great King's present superior legislative as well as executive authority.

Of the six inscriptions belonging to Xerxes that contain our clause, four are from the ruins of Persepolis; for the Aryan of which, see Journal R. A. S. vol. x pp. 324, 327, 329, 337; one is from the rock at Van in Armenia, and one accompanies that of his father at Alwand, for the Aryan text of both which, see vol. x pp 334, 319. Of all these there are Kissian versions, and without repeating the introductory passage which contains our clause, Mr Norris has noted all varieties of expression observable therein, in his comment on the Kissian version of Darius's Alwand inscription.

The claim to superior kingly and legislative authority thus made by Darius and Xerxes, we find once more repeated in the latter days of the dynasty, by Okhus Artaxerxes in Aryan only, at Persepolis; vol. x. p 341.

That at sunrise on the morrow, which appears to have been the (10 + 5 + 1=) 16th of Bàgayàdish, the new king should be proclaimed on the field before the town, in the presence of the townsmen and the troops, especially those by whom the supposed Smerdis son of Cyrus had been attended.

Accordingly, the next morning they all assembled on horseback at the appointed place of muster at break of day. It was the hour when (according to Xenophon) all Persians of the free assembly, that is, we might venture to say, all males of the families of gentlemen great or small, below sixteen years old and between twenty-five and fifty years of age, were wont, when at home, to appear on their parade ground. Here, when the sun arose above the horizon, the horse bestrode by Darius neighed, lightning flashed from a clear sky, and a clap of thunder followed; whereupon of those who had helped Darius to slay the Magian, all present jumped down from their saddles, fell on their faces, and kissing the ground before him, adored their king.[e]

[e] Herod. iii. 86; also Ktesias frag. 29 § 15; C. Muller's ed. p. 49. Omitting the groom's contrivance for making his master's horse neigh, (which is the same as the first of the two given by Herodotus) the remainder of Trogus Pompeius's account is this; "Ipsi igitur (septem conscii, occisis Magis) viam invenerunt, quâ de re judicium religioni et fortunæ committerent; pactique inter se sunt, ut die statutâ omnes equos ante regiam primo mane perducerent, et cujus equus inter solis ortum hinnitum primus edidisset, is rex esset. Nam et solem Persæ unum deum esse credunt, et equos eidem deo sacratos ferunt. Erat inter conjuratos Darius Hystaspis filius . . . Posterâ die itaque, quum ad statutam horam omnes convenissent, Darii equus . . . hinnitum statim edidit, et segnibus aliis felix auspicium domino primus emisit. Tanta moderatio cæteris fuit, audito auspicio, ut confestim equis desiluerint et Darium regem salutaverint. Populus quoque universus, secutus judicium principum, eundem regem constituunt." Justin i. 10. Trogus, it is to be noted, had learnt what Herodotus at least and Ktesias could not have told him, that Gaumâta was the name of one of the Magian brothers. He had before related; "Ad hoc tam crudele ministerium (Smerdis fratris sui interfectionem, Cambyses) magum quemdam ex amicis delegit, nomine Cometen. Interim ipse, gladio suâ sponte evaginato, in femore graviter vulneratus occubuit. . . Quo nuntio accepto,

The neighing of Darius's horse is a famous incident, omitted by none who have told of his accession to the throne. Herodotus relates the devices by one or other of which, according to different accounts, Darius's groom had contrived it; and this vulgar rationalism he has carelessly mixed up with the miraculous view of the matter, according to which the omen of the horse's neigh was followed on the instant by a sign from heaven; so that the consecration of Darius became complete.

Of course, while we are disinclined to deny the not unaccountable neighing of the horse, we are sceptical as to the heavenly omen. But we note the statement of Xenophon, that lightnings and thunders, happening just and apt on one's going out of the house for the taking in hand of a great design, were by the Persians regarded as tokens of favour proceeding from the most Great God.[f]

magus ante famam amissi regis occupat facinus; prostratoque Smerde, cui regnum debebatur, fratrem suum subjecit Oropasten. Erat enim et oris et corporis lineamentis persimilis, ac nemine subesse dolum arbitrante, pro Smerde rex Oropasta constituitur." Justin i. 9. Here the improbability of Herodotus's story, that the Magian was already named Smerdis before his imposture is avoided. Ktesias, who knows but one Magian, avoids it too, when he calls him Sphendadates and makes his reign in the name of Smerdis, the mere continuance under the late king's ministers of a former presentation of Smerdis in the character of satrap at Baktra. But, seeing Trogus call the other brother Cometes, whom Herodotus names Patizeithes, ἐπίτροπος or μελιδωνὸς of the house of Cambyses, our conjecture is recalled, that in this story the appellation Gaumàta was taken by some who heard or told it, to be a name of office like the modern Persian *Gumashtah*.

[f] Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 6 § 1. By the previous context, Xenophon (who tacitly interprets Mithra by Ἥλιος, "the sun," as in Cyrop. viii. 7 § 3) gives us to understand that by his Persian μέγιστος θεὸς, he means the Auramazdà of the Akhæmenian inscriptions, who is often called (as at the beginning of the Aryan inscription on Darius's tomb) *Baga wazarka Auramazdà*, and also (as in one of Darius's Persepolitan inscriptions) *Aurámazdà wazarka hya mathishta bagànàm*. See Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 273, 291. In the previous context above alluded to, Xenophon tells us, how Cyrus having been a pointed by the council, general of the Persian force that was to reinforce the Medes in their war with Babylon,

ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε καὶ προσευξάμενος Ἑστίᾳ πατρῴᾳ καὶ Διὶ πατρῴῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ὡρμᾶτο ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν.

If this was the fact, it must be concluded, that the story-tellers followed by Herodotus meant it to be supposed—not that the sun-god, Mithra to whom horses were sacred, but—that Auramazdà had on this occasion given the heavenly token of favour to Darius. We might even suspect that, according to the story as originally told, it was just when the sun had risen that Darius, issuing from the town, came upon the crowded muster-ground; his horse, meeting those that waited there, neighed; and the lightning followed by a peal of thunder flashed from the sky. Nor may the story have distinctly told the purpose of Darius's appearance, whether he came forth for a journey of war or policy; whether a religious ceremony was to be performed (as when Cyrus, according to Xenophon's account, first went out in state from the palace at Babylon [g]) or whether it was his intention simply to exhibit himself to all as the new king of Persia.

We must now mention that, according to Herodotus, when Darius and his six friends slew the Magian and held the council and assembled on horseback before the

When, after the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus entered the palace to take possession, Xenophon tells us,

πρῶτον μὲν Ἑστίᾳ ἔθυσεν, ἔπειτα Διὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ εἴ τινι ἄλλῳ θεῷ οἱ Μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο.

Cyrop. vii. 5 § 57. By Ἑστία Xenophon means the sacred fire; for Strabo tells us, "to whatever god the Persians sacrifice, they pray to fire first." Strabo xv. 3 § 16.

[g] Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 3 §§ 1–34. At the end he says, that this mode of the king's riding out subsisted to his day; only that the animals for sacrifice were left out, when it was not the king's purpose to sacrifice. The burnt-offering, ὁλοκαύτωσις, which he records § 24, first of bulls to Zeus (Auramazdà) then, of horses to the sun (Mithra), would have violated the principle that committing any dead thing to fire polluted the element; see Strabo xv. 3 § 14. Either, then, they were not offered by fire at all, but were presented after prayer, slain, cut up, and divided among those who offered them, as Strabo describes in his previous context; or else they were burnt alive; unless we suppose that even in Xenophon's days Magian influence had not in all cases suppressed old Aryan burnt-offering of slain beasts. Herodotus says, that, after being cut up, the flesh was boiled and before it was taken away was presented for a while, upon tender herbage cut for the purpose. Herod. i. 132. Yet he had said that no fire was lighted.

town at sunrise, as we have related at large—all were equal; there was no acknowledged chief, no new king yet; and that when, on the neighing of his steed, Darius was adored as the great luminary of earth, this was only in pursuance of a previous agreement privately made by the seven, because it was Darius's horse that had chanced on that occasion to be the first to neigh. But this view taken by outsiders, this popular notion, seems quite inconsistent with the statements as well as with the general tone of Darius's Behistun inscription. Darius does, indeed, ascribe it repeatedly and most emphatically to the will of Auramazdà, that he is king, which he might have done had he obtained the throne by the happy accident that on a certain solemn occasion his horse neighed first. But he also states his descent from Akhæmenes, he urges the number—no less than eight—of his family who had been kings before the time when the Magian pretending to be one of the same family dispossessed Cambyses. He relates "that, notwithstanding innovations, notwithstanding many executions prompted by the fear of discovery, not a man, Persian nor Mede nor even of the royal family, did aught against the usurper till he himself arrived. All feared Gaumàta." What followed upon his arrival, he divides into two parts. The first is briefly this; "I prayed to Auramazdà and received help from Auramazdà." The next is this; "On the tenth day of the month Bàgayàdish, then it was with the men, my well-wishers, I thus slew Gaumàta the Magian and the chief men who were his followers. The fort named Siktakhotish in the district of Media named Nisæa, there I slew him; I dispossessed him of the empire; by the will of Auramazdà I became king, Auramazdà granted me the kingdom." Such was the beginning and the end of the enterprise, according to Darius. He adds; "the crown that had been wrested from our race, that I recovered. . . I laboured till I had firmly established our family." [h] If

[h] Beh. insc. col. 1 paras 13 and 14. As to the will of Auramazdà, two indications of it, besides the successful issue of the enterprise, are note

such a ceremony at sunrise as Herodotus has described happened, five or six days after the Magian's death, it may be considered to mark Darius's first public appearance as king, when his friends by whom he had been hitherto served in private, gave the example of their obeisance, to the whole armed and unarmed assemblage. And if they waited for the sun to rise, so did Xerxes at the Hellespont, before he poured his libation into the stream, and made his prayer to the sun or to the sun's Creator, on the morning when his army was to begin to cross the two bridges already smoking with incense and strewed with myrtle.

II.

But it is more than intimated, as we have shown—it seems to be expressly stated—in Darius's record, that even before the seizure of the sceptre, which he effected when he killed the usurping Magian, to the honour and advantage of the Persians and Medes in general, but above all, of the Akhæmenian clan, he was in a certain sense already king. He was something more than other Aryans, other Persians, and other Akhæmenians; he had undertaken to dispossess the Magian of the throne, and he had found friends to aid the attempt. This is the conclusion his language leads us to. Correspondingly, in the case of Gaumâta also, two circumstances of his usurpation are recorded. The earlier phase commenced on the fourteenth day of the month Viyakhana, which answered to the fifth Egyptian month in the eighth year of Cambyses, E. N. 226, or to May B. C. 522. On that day, at a certain place in Persis, he proclaimed to the

in the narrative of Herodotus. Not only is lightning followed by thunder from a clear sky said to have hailed Darius king about six days after the Magian's death, but a portent or sign of divine favour is said to have been granted to the enterprise before it was carried out; see Herod. iii. 76.

people, "I am Bardiya, son of Kurush and brother of Ca(m)bujiya." Whereupon, revolting from Cambyses, Persis and Media and the other provinces, all went over to Gaumàta. Hence he was able to enter upon the second phase of his career, on the ninth day of the following month, named Garmapada; when he is stated to have seized the sceptre, or taken possession of the kingdom.[a]

Just so, in Darius's case, there was a period of kingship before he became openly king; and before the tenth of Bàgayàdish, when Gaumàta was slain in the eighth month of his reign, or the first month of what would have been counted in Egypt to Cambyses as his ninth regnal year, had he been still alive; but which in fact was reckoned the first year of the reign of Darius.

This appears on examining two correlative sentences which (according to Sir H. C. Rawlinson's division of the Aryan text of the Behistun inscription, in the tenth volume of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal) form, one of them, the fifteenth paragraph, and the other, the opening sentence of the tenth paragraph, of the first column.

This tenth paragraph begins with an announcement of matters to be then presently narrated, including the confusion of the empire during the latter years of the reign of Cambyses, and the ensuing usurpation, reign, and death of Gaumàta, with the reversal of some of his acts by Darius. Accordingly, these matters are then related in the same tenth and in the four following paragraphs. Then, the recital is summed up by the fifteenth paragraph, in a description which repeats the prefatory sentence at the beginning of the tenth paragraph. Both passages refer to the same period and division of the king's achievements; but one introduces, the other recapitulates. The beginning of the tenth paragraph is, "Saith Darius the king, This is what by me was done after that king I became;" and the fifteenth paragraph repeats the same in these words, "Saith Darius the king, This is what I

[a] Beh. insc. col. 1. para. 11.

performed after that king I became."[b] Sir H. C. Rawlinson appears to confine the reference to the acts of reversal alluded to in the fourteenth paragraph; but it seems impossible that the overthrow of the Magian himself should not have been regarded also. We would include what he did previously, as related in the thirteenth paragraph, and consider the contents of the twelfth, eleventh, and latter part of the tenth paragraphs concerning Cambyses and the Magian, to be a necessary introduction. In the thirteenth paragraph he comes to himself, and relates his arrival at the place where the usurper resided, his praying to Auramazdà, his receiving aid from

[b] The Aryan word signifying "after" *pasàwa* in para. 10 not having its two middle characters very legible, was at first deciphered *pariwa* signifying "before." But after the Aryan text had been lithographed in the tenth volume of the R. A. S.'s Journal, Sir H. C. Rawlinson visited Behistun again for the purpose of taking casts and copies of all such portions of the Kissian and Assyrian texts of the inscription as might be in any degree legible; and on this occasion he collated the lithographed copy with the rock writing of the Aryan text, examining the doubtful passages under every variety of light. The results were appended to the twelfth vol. of the Journal, and on col. 1 line 27 of the Aryan (that is, on col. 1 para. 10) *pasàwa* is directed to be substituted for *pariwa*. But a fresh inspection of the rock was not necessary to this rectification. In the Assyrian text (where para. 15 is wanting) the prefatory sentence in para. 10 is preserved, and is rendered by Sir H. C. Rawlinson "this is what I did by the grace of Hurimizda after that I became king;" see the eleventh line of this text, as exhibited in seventeen sheets with an interlinear Latin version; also page xli of the analysis of this text, in Journal R. A. S. vol. xiv. Here the cypher employed, whether phonetic or ideographic, is the one which, throughout the Assyrian text, answers to the Aryan word *pasáwa* signifying "after." The Kissian text is perfect, both in the prefatory and in the recapitulating clause. The former is rendered by Mr Norris, Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. 98, 99 "This is what I did by favour of Auramasta when as king I became." The latter, or clause of repetition, may be translated; "This is what by me was done when whatever-before-kingdom I seized;" that is, "all the kingdom that my family ever before enjoyed." This, (though not Mr Norris's) may be justified from his Vocabulary p. 198 under *anka*, and his Grammar p. 75 where he remarks that *appo* ("what" or "as") when followed by *anka*, "if," becomes as the Latin *siquid*. Perhaps the Greek ὅτ-αν, is a still closer parallel.

Auramazdà, his being attended by six friends, killing Gaumàta, and possessing himself of the kingdom. These achievements, not less than his reversing certain acts of Gaumàta, he seems certainly to call, what he did after he became king. Accordingly, though he speaks of the Magian as king in fact, he denies his being king by right, after Cambyses; for in the tenth paragraph he asserts, that Cambyses was king before himself; intimating thereby, that while the Magian was yet alive, he himself was the lawful king.

It seems, then, that Herodotus's authority was deceived as to the nature of the ceremony which took place about six days after the Magian's death, when, at sun-rise, the horse on which Darius was mounted neighed and all worshipped before him. Had Darius considered that his reign began on that day, he would have recorded it. But his only date is the tenth, when the Magian and his adherents were slain.

III.

The misrepresented ceremony, however, marking the 16th of Bàgayàdish B. C. 521, at which the eldest son of Hystaspes was first publicly adored as the true successor of Cambyses son of Cyrus, seems to deserve our attention. Let us, then, in this section attempt to illustrate it, so far as it has a religious aspect, in several particulars.

As to the waiting for sun-rise, we have already cited the behaviour of Darius's son and successor, who waited in like manner to begin the religious rites that preceded his army's passage of the Hellespont; and we may add Curtius's information, that it was the inherited manner of the Persians, not to set forth upon a march before sunrise. As to the flash of lightning and the thunder that followed it, from an unclouded sky, we have called a witness, Xenophon, who asserts that such a sign was held to come from Auramazdà, the Most Great God. The neighing, also, of Darius's horse was undoubtedly taken for an omen of

importance, whether sent by the god of the sky or by the sun-god to whom horses were consecrated. This is supposed by the story itself, and analogy leads us to the conclusion. Tacitus writes of the rude Germans of his time—from whom, probably, we are for the most part ourselves descended—a stock, which the comparative anatomy of language has proved to be cognate with the Medes and Persians and the Hindus; and he tells us,[a] "that neither to confine their gods with walls, nor to liken them to any appearance of human personality, was, in the opinion of the Germans, to treat them as it befitted the majesty of heavenly beings." Here we see the counterpart of what the Persians believed, and a starting point whence our analogy may set out. But the Germans, living in a generally level and at the same time a wooded and tangled country, instead of the loneliness of an open plain or mountain top, "consecrated groves and glades; and called by the names of their gods, that retirement which they looked upon with their reverence alone." Thus, having contrasted the objects of German worship dwelling where the eye might not penetrate, with those of his own country whose temples, built beside a street or road, were always so situated that those who passed by could look in and salute the image which, at a less or greater distance, faced the open entrance,[b] our author continues; "Omens and lots are observed by none more than by the Germans." "When the lots have permitted a measure, the further assurance of omens is exacted; and here, as elsewhere, the practice is familiar of interrogating the voices and flights of birds; but it is a peculiarity of the nation, that they make trial of the presages and warnings of horses. These are fed on the public account in the (sacred) glades and groves, they are white and defiled by no human employment. Yoked to a sacred chariot, they are attended by a priest and the king or one of the head-men of the

[a] Tacitus *De moribus Germanorum*, capp. 9, 10.

[b] See Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities;" under 'Templum.'

state, who take note of their neighs and *ha-has*, (*hinnitus ac fremitus.*) "Nor is there any omen in which there is greater assurance, not only among the common people but among the chieftains, among the priests; for they hold themselves the ministers, but horses the confidants (*conscios*) of the gods." Thus, the analogy of the rude religion of Germany leads to the belief, that with the Persians the neighing of Darius's horse might be taken for an omen.

In the reign of the first Cæsar Augustus, a writer well read in accounts of the old Persian empire, as well as familiar with the history and condition of his contemporaries, the Parthians (who had succeeded the Macedonian conquerors in the eastern part of the Persian empire)—Trogus Pompeius, made the story of this 16th of Bàgayàdish his occasion for affirming, that the Persians believed the sun to be the only god; and that they consecrated and offered to him horses.[c] It may be that Herodotus was not more accurate when (four centuries earlier) he wrote of the Massagetæ (perhaps, a kindred nation) that their sole deity, to whom they sacrificed horses, was the sun.[d] But the statement of Trogus may

[c] Justin i. 10. already cited.

[d] Θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους.
Herod. i. 215. The Massagetæ and the Europæan Skythæ, living in steppe-countries where they bred large numbers of horses, likewise the Germans and Persians, who probably brought with them horses and the habits of horsemen from their former, to their ultimate settlements, naturally used the horse, no less than the steer or the sheep, in sacrifice. Herodotus's reason why the horse was selected for the sun by the Massagetæ, viz. swift to the swift, is made the Persian reason by Ovid;

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
Ne detur celeri victima tarda deo.

G. Rawlinson, to whom we owe this citation, refers for the Persian horse-sacrifices to Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 3 § 24; for the Armenian to Xenoph. Anab. iv. 5 § 35. Note, that as men and horses were slain, not only to gods but (at his tomb) for the use of a departed chief of the Skythæ in the region of the dead, perhaps the notion of horse-sacrifice to the sun, was, that the spirits of the horses accompanied or were harnessed to that heavenly chariot. One might be tempted to suspect that the ethnic appellation Massagetæ was a Kissian pro-

correctly indicate a prevailing tendency in the Persians, to address their worship to a single great God; regarding other objects of ancient veneration as subordinate to that one, and as his ministers or satraps only. As they were taught to pray (Herodotus tells us) not in the style of the oldest Hindu hymns, each man for his own wealth alone, but always for the king and the nation of the Persians, they would (almost of course) address themselves mediately or immediately to the god of the king, or the god of the Aryans as the Kissians called him, namely, Auramazdà. From what Trogus says, it may also be inferred, that in their minds the connexion was intimate between Mithra and that chief of gods; between the god of the nearer sun and the god of the sky beyond.

For, that nevertheless, there was a plurality believed in, of superior beings to whom, as divine or half-divine, man's homage might be paid, is confessed (in conformity with the accounts of the Persian religion that Herodotus, Xenophon, and Strabo have bequeathed) by the same inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes' son and his successors which so persistingly ascribe supreme deity to Auramazdà. First, the inscriptions term Auramazdà, the great god and the chief of the gods; thus asserting at once, his supremacy and the existence of other gods. Further, although praise is given to him alone, and he alone in general is addressed in prayer, he is sometimes invoked, even by Darius and Xerxes, "along with the other gods;" though these, as but his train, are still not named. In the Behistun inscription itself, there are two consecutive paragraphs (the twelfth and thirteenth of the fourth column) in which it is said once and again, "Auramazdà the god of the Aryans was my helper, and

nunciation of *Mithra-getæ*, "sun-goths" or "sun-skyths." For the Mithra of an Aryan inscription is substituted Missa in the Kissian counterpart, and Mr Norris remarks that the Persian *tr* or *thr* always becomes *ss* in the Kissian; the instances are numerous. See Journal R. A. S. vol. xv pp. 159, 161.

the other gods which there are,"[e]—though the description, "the god of the Aryans" is not found in the text intended for the instruction of the Aryan Persians and Medes, but only in the version made for those of the Kissian speech. But more than this; in the reigns of Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon and his son Okhus Artaxerxes, we have royal inscriptions wherein there is a god Mithra named, in addition to Auramazdà; and thus, the accuracy of Xenophon is attested so far as he describes the Persian religion of his own time; for he, too, gives the sun as a second to the great god of the Persians. It must be admitted, however, that in the first of these reigns, when Xenophon flourished, the Persian religion at court was much corrupted. For, besides the Aryan Mitra or Mithra, not only does the king name in an inscription a non-Aryan divinity, the apparently Babylonian goddess Anakhita, and give her precedence over Mithra, but (contrary to the Persian religion which seems to have denied not only flesh and blood but even the form of the human creature to God, and which certainly forbade images and image worship) it seems clear that, with the concurrence, (as he pretended) of Auramazdà himself, he introduced images of his goddess and of Mithra into a building at Susa founded by his ancestor, our Darius son of Hystaspes, and finished or repaired by his grandfather Cyrus Artaxerxes Makrokheir—the king who, on successive occasions, sent Ezra and Nehemiah in different capacities to Jerusalem.[f]

[e] See also two inscriptions of Darius, one in Aryan, the other in Kissian (not duplicates), from the great slab bearing other inscriptions too, in the south wall of the great platform at Persepolis; with three inscriptions of Xerxes from different parts of the ruins. See No 3, 13, 14 and 17 of Rawlinson, and No 3 of Norris; Journal R. A. S. vol. x and xv.

[f] The inscription of Okhus Artaxerxes, which is at Persepolis in Aryan only, is given, Journal R. A. S. vol. x pp. 341, 342; for that of Arsakes Artaxerxes his father, which is trilingual—Aryan, Kissian, and Assyrian—see vol. xv p. 159. This last was discovered by Mr W. Kenneth Loftus in the ruins of Susa. Curtius (iii. 7 § 8), reports that above the tent of the last Darius, beamed an image of the sun inclosed in crystal; but this was probably an image of the sun's disk; and not

That a distinction, however, between Auramazdà and Mithra had been made by the predecessors of this de-

of human shape. The reason why the Persians like the Skythæ of Cimmeria (Herod. iv. 59) and the ancient Germans (Tacit. Germ. capp. 9, 10) did not use to set up images of their gods or houses for their gods, or altars, ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμούς, Herodotus supposes to be, that they had never believed the gods to be man-shaped, ἀνθρωποφυείας, and (we may add) to need meat and lodging like men ; see Herod. i. 131. But that Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon means human-shaped or partly human-shaped images, when he records, "By the help of Auramazdá I placed Anakhita and Mithra in this building," is sufficiently proved, as to the former at least, by the passage produced by Mr. Norris, wherein Clemens Alexandrinus (Protr. i. 5) convicts the Persians of worshipping human-shaped images by a citation from the third book of the Chaldaica of Berosus, shewing that it was introduced among them by Artaxerxes son of Darius II, who before he came to the throne was called Okhus ;

ὃς πρῶτος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ταναΐδος τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναστήσας ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Σούσοις καὶ Ἐκβατάνοις, Πέρσαις καὶ Βάκτροις καὶ Δαμάσκῳ καὶ Σάρδεσιν ὑπέδειξε σέβειν·

i. e. "For he first set up the image of Aphrodite Tanais at Babylon and Susa and Ekbatana, and gave an example of the worship to Persepolis, Baktra, Damascus, and Sardis." Clemens had stated (on the authority of Dinon, as we shall see) that the Persians had before considered Fire and Water (not wood and stone, like the Greeks, or ibises and ikhneumons, like the Egyptians) to be images of gods. Instead of Ταναΐδος, the edition of Sylburgius cited in Müller's Fragments, vol. ii. p. 509 has Ἀναΐτιδος. Mr. Norris—who reads the name in the Kissian *Anam Tanata*, "goddess-Tanata," which in the Assyrian is *Anakhita* and in the Aryan apparently *(A)nahata*—remarks that, though it has been usual in printed Greek works to alter the name *Tanaïda* to *Anaïtida* yet the Phœnician תנת (for which he sends us to Gesenius, *Phœn. Monum.* 1837 p. 115), the present inscription and the authority of good MSS of Strabo, shew Tanaida to have been equally admissible, and if Gesenius's conjecture that the Egyptian goddess *Neith* is the same, the reason of the variation is plain ; *ta* being merely the Egyptian feminine article. As to what is here said of Strabo, observe that at Strab. xi. 14 § 16, or p. 456, line 40 of C. Müller's Strabo, where the worship of this goddess in Armenia is spoken of, it is said that the MSS have Ταναΐδος, and that Ἀναΐτιδος is due to Xylander's emendation. So too in Eustathius, *ad Dionys. Perieget. vers.* 846, the MSS have Ταναΐτιδι, though C. Müller, regarding this as a corruption, has printed the name without its initial letter. He does the same in the *Chrestomathiæ ex Strabon.* xi. § 50, where the MS has Ταναΐτις θεά. See his *Geogr. Minor. Græc. tom.* 2 pp. 365, 599. Observe, that without the Egyptian article, the ת the Kissian name is *Anata*, which not only (as we shall see presently) is found in Babylonian mythology, but also is Ἀθηνα (the Neith

generate monarch, we learn from another contemporary of his grandfather's—Herodotus. This historian enumerates

of Athens)—in its Doric form at least, read from right to left. Plato is cited as calling Neith, the Athena of Sais; Timæus p. 22, A. Compare Diodorus i. 28 § 4; and Charax Pergamenus (quoted by Tzetzes) frag. 11. in C. Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. 3 p. 639. In the Assyrian version of Artaxerxes Mnemon's inscription, the name of the goddess is *Anakhita*, of which the correspondent in Zend is *Anâhita*, and in Sanscrit *Anasita*. So says Sir H. C. Rawlinson (Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 249, note) referring to Yaçna, p. 432. note 289. The Persian correspondent used by the king, *(A)nahata*, seems to resemble the Kissian more closely than the Assyrian form. Regarding the derivation, we would venture an inference from certain statements by Sir H. C. Rawlinson. He asserts that *Anu* (in the genitive *Ani*, in the accusative *Ana)* in Assyrian, and *Ana* or *Anna* (indeclinable) in Babylonian, is the name of the god answering to Hades or Pluto, and standing at the head of the list of twelve gods in the Chaldæo-Assyrian mythology, of whom the first seven gods form, a triad, a great goddess, and a triad, and the last five are the planets visible to us on earth. Also he asserts, that the name signifies God pre-eminently. See G. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 591. An epithet attributed to this deity in the lists, is *Khi*, p. 588. His wife or female-half is named in the lists *Anata* or *Anuta:* and she has precisely the same epithets as himself with the mere difference of gender; p. 593. If so, we conclude *Anakhita* to be the female form of the god *Anu* (or *Ana) Khi:* and it would follow that *Anata* and *Anakhita* are both Babylonian forms of the same name. The statement of Berosus concerning the worship of this goddess by Artaxerxes Mnemon, is confirmed by Plutarch, in vit. Artaxerx. cap. 27. where to prevent Darius, his eldest son, from living any longer with Aspasia, he tells us "the king made her ἱέρειαν, a priestess" (but we suspect ἱερόδουλον, one of the temple prostitutes) "of the Artemis at Ekbatana whom they call Anaitis, Ἀναΐτιν." The temple of Anaitis at Ekbatana is mentioned by Isidore Kharakenus in the *Mansiones Parthicæ*. Plutarch says the object was that she might live pure, ἀγνὴ, but see Strabo xi. 14 § 16 and consider the revenge which the son died for attempting. The Héra (wife of Zeus) whose temple was sixteen stades distant from the palace, to whom the king prayed in behalf of a daughter of his whom he had made one of his wives and who became a leper, bowing before the deity so as to touch the ground with his hands, filling also the whole space between his palace and her temple with gold, and silver, and purple, and horses, the offerings of his satraps and friends (Plutarch Artax. cap. 23) was perhaps, not only in Plutarch's view but in fact, a different Babylonian idol from Anakhita. She may have been Zirbanit, wife of Bel-Merodach: or she may have been the great goddess, the wife of the Bel of the first triad mentioned in the next note.

the objects which, besides their Zeus, that is, Auramazdà, the Persians had worshipped from the beginning; and of these he places first the sun. We learn from him, moreover, that the corruption which was received into the favour of Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon, in the second generation that ensued after Herodotus and his contemporaries were gone—or another very similar corruption—was already popular in the time of the historian. For he adds, that from the Assyrians and Arabs, the Persians had since learnt to worship Urania, that is, the Uranian Aphrodité or Venus of the sky, which name seems to designate a goddess of the planet Venus.[g] A plurality,

[g] See Herod. i. 131, 199; iii. 8; iv. 59. On Herodotus's mistake in supposing that Μίτρα was the name by which the Persians designated this Assyrian and Arabian goddess, George Rawlinson observes that the Persians, like their Vaidik brethren, worshipped the Sun under the name of Mithra: (in the Rig-Veda hymns translated by the late Professor H. H. Wilson, the name is always Mitra). This was a portion of the religion which they brought with them from their former country, and was not adopted from any nation with which they had come into contact in their new settlement. He notices that Strabo is the first Greek or Roman writer who distinctly lays it down that the Persians called the Sun-god *Mithres:* Strabo, xv. 3 § 13. That after him, Plutarch (in the words σεβόμενος Μίθρου φῶς μέγα, vit. Alex. cap. 30) shews acquaintance with the fact, which thenceforth becomes generally recognized. For proof he refers to the inscription upon altars, *deo Soli invicto Mithræ:* and appeals to Suidas, Hesychius, &c. The moon (Soma in Sanscrit) the Persians called *Homa.* Hymns to Homa and Mithra, says he (Herod. vol. i. p. 430) are among the earliest portions of the Zendavesta. Apparently Herodotus was led to mistake the name given by the Persians to the Sun-god, *Mithra,* for the designation of their adopted goddess, whose image or abode or vehicle was the planet Venus, through the previous mistake of supposing that by a certain Babylonian name (Μυλιττα as he writes it) of a female power in the Sun (a great goddess, one of whose titles is found to have been "wife of the Mid-day Sun") they understood the goddess whom they worshipped in the planet Venus, and whom, indeed, they may have wedded either to the rising or to the setting Sun: comp. Cic. de N. D. ii. 20, and Horat. Carm. ii. 9 line 10. That is to say, before mistaking Mithra for Anahita in the Persian worship, he seems to have begun by counfounding, as perhaps many others did, Gula with Ishtar or Nana in the Assyrian and Chaldæan superstition. In G. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. pp. 271,

then, there was of beings deserving worship in Persian opinion, but there was one superior God, principally adored, to whom the rest were in some sense subordinate.

May not Mithra have been regarded by the Persians as a living chariot, or as a chariot and charioteer, of the Great Spirit, the creator Auramazdà, to whose dominion the Persians assigned that whole compass of the sky which the Hindus divided by eight points at which they placed the regency of eight gods? Thus, in a Vaidik hymn (the 108th in the late Professor H. H. Wilson's *Rig-veda Sanhitâ)* Hindus invite to come and drink of the Soma-juice libation "Indra and Agni sitting together in their car, that wonderful car which illuminates all beings." [h] Or may

note, 612–614, 634–636, Sir H. C. Rawlinson would trace Herodotus's name Mylitta to the Gula of the cuneiform monuments, the same goddess probably as the fifth deity of the twelve, Bilat or Beltis, but distinct from Ishtar or Astarte. The two names Mylitta and Gula he connects by a passage in the story of Nanaros the Babylonian and Parsondas the Persian, in Nicolaus of Damascus;

ἐπώμοσε τόν τε Βῆλον καὶ τὴν Μύλιν, οὕτως γὰρ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι Βαβυλώνιοι.

See C. Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. 3. p. 361. Müller justly identifies Nanaros with a person whom Athenæus (xii. p. 530, quoting Ktesias) calls Annarus. If the first of these appellations could become the second by difference of dialect, then the Babylonian goddess Nana who is the Ναναῖα of 2 Maccab. i. 12, and of Indo-Scythian coins, and who by king Asshur-bani-pal, the restorer of her shrine at Arbela, is termed "the Lady of Arbela," may be identified with the goddess Ἀνία or Ἀναῖα whose temple near Arbela is mentioned, Strabo, xvi. 1 § 4. Here for the reading of the MSS Ἀνέα the edd. of Xylander and Kramer have Ἀναια, the interchange by copyists of ε and αι being notoriously frequent; and the goddess Anahita (whom we have identified in the note before this with Anata or Anuta, the *she Anu)* is supposed to be intended. But as to the argument for the identity of Anæa and Nanæa, if Nicolaus's narrative was borrowed from Ktesias, it may be thought that the difference between his Nanarus (written in more than one passage *Nanybrus)* and Athenæus's Annarus, can hardly be ascribed to any other cause than mere mistake in transcription of Ktesias.

[h] The Sun seems to be the chariot intended. In the sixth Rig-Veda hymn, the god who is represented as the Sun and Fire and Wind and constellations united, and who is subsequently named Indra, is mounted on a chariot drawn by two crimson or bright bay horses. But the car of Savitri (a synonym of Surya, that is, the Sun) is described as having a yoke of gold, and drawn by two white horses, in the thirty-fifth hymn.

not the Persians have imagined Mithra to be a close attendant upon Auramazdà, as, in the order of Codomannus Darius's march, the white-horsed car sacred to Auramazdà, which went before the king, was followed (according to Curtius) by a horse of extraordinary size, called the steed of Mithra? At least, may we not think that Mithra, that is, the sun, was regarded as just such an image or analogue of Auramazdà in the sky as their great king exhibited on earth? Certainly, as Mithra seemed the light of lights, and the king of Persia was held to be king of kings, so Auramazdà was accounted the chief of gods invisible. Hence, may it not have been inculcated and believed, that, when prayer was to be made in the day-time out of doors, Auramazdà was fitly imaged by the sun, just as on earth the king of Persia represented him when rule was to be exercised or contumacy to be punished among the nations?[1] But let us confine ourselves to what we can state upon authority. Now Plutarch tells us, the Persians name Mithra the Mediator τὸν μεσίτην, and, though their so doing is justified by alleging the mid-way position of that great light between heaven and earth, we may understand an intermediate agency as well as position to have been denoted by the appellation. For it has the

But in the fiftieth hymn we have seven mares yoked to the car of Surya. The hymns to Agni (the Fire-god) very commonly make mention of his car, in which he is invited to bring gods to the sacrifice. For instance in the forty-fifth hymn we have this petition; "*Agni*, lord of red coursers, propitiated by our praises, bring hither the three and thirty divinities." Comp. the fourteenth.

[1] See Herod. vii. 56, where a certain Hellespontian asks—not why Zeus, *i. e.* Oromazdes, is leading Xerxes to the destruction of Greece, but—why Zeus has taken the form of Xerxes. The eunuch who announced to Codomannus Darius the death in her captivity of his queen Statira, is made to report that she had been deprived of no indulgence, but

τὸ σὸν ὀρᾶν φῶς ὃ πάλιν ἀναλάμψει (qu. ἀνάψει) λαμπρὸν ὁ κύριος Ὡρομάσδης.

Plut. vit. Alex. cap. 30 § 2. In this Darius's camp, above his tent, according to Curtius iii. 7, "beamed an image of the Sun inclosed in crystal." Alexander's reply, therefore, when offered 10,000 talents and half of Darius's empire is very significant,

μήτε τὴν γῆν ἡλίους δύο, μήτε τὴν Ἀσίαν δύο βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν.

Plut. Apophthegm. Alex. § 11.

sense of a negotiator between two parties, not only in the New Testament but also in Polybius.[1] And the office so ascribed to Mithra is analogous to the most ancient Hindu doctrine concerning the fire-god, Agni, whom the Vaidik hymns continually represent not only as the protector of religious rites (by the fires which were kindled around) and as himself the priest, but as going between men and the gods, receiving oblations for the gods, invoking them and bringing them to men's sacrifices,—there to sit with himself upon the sacred grass, partake of food, and drink the libation of Soma-juice. Moreover, that the worship of fire among the Persians was connected with

[1] For μεσίτης Liddell and Scott cite Polybius xxviii. 15 § 8, xi. 34 § 3. In the N. T. see Gal. iii. 19, 20; 1 Tim. ii. 5; Heb. viii. 6; ix. 15; xii. 24. Plutarch's words are

Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσι.

De Is. et Os. § 46. The reason they do so, he says, is, "Because, according to Zoroaster, Oromasdes, the Power of good, who is God, was most like of all things sensible to light; while Areimanius, the evil Power and Dæmon, is like to darkness, and in the middle between the the two was Mithres,"

μέσον δ' ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι.

In the following § 47 he recites a Persian story of creation, which made Mithres to stand half-way between heaven (*i. e.* according to Herodotus's view, Oromasdes) and earth. Thus, Areimanius (whom not only, as we have seen, they likened of all things most to darkness, but they are reported to have invoked as, τὸν ᾅδην καὶ τὸν Σκότον, "Hades" and "Darkness") would be connected with earth; and Herodotus not only mentions earth among the objects which received religious homage from the Persians, i. 131, but in vii. 114 seems in fact to allude to Areimanius, where he tells that Amestris wife of Xerxes offered to "the god that is said to be under the earth," for the prolongation of her life, twice seven children of distinguished Persian men. Xenophon makes Cyrus in the neighbourhood of Babylon sacrifice, not only to Auramazdâ and Mithra but, to earth and the heroes to whom the land of Assyria belonged; Cyrop. viii. 3 § 24. But with Herodotus's Skythæ of Cimmeria, Earth was a goddess, and the wife of their greatest god Papæus; Herod. iv. 59. Among the Germans, the Angli and others (Tacitus tells us) worshipped *Herthum*, that is, Mother-Earth; *De mor. Germ.* § 40. So the Tellus of the Romans and Δημητης (*i. e.* Γη μητης) of the Greeks, were goddesses. In the Rig-Veda hymns, too, we find mother-earth and father-heaven invoked; Wilson's *Rig-veda Sanhitá*, pp. 228, 287.

that of the sun, would appear from Curtius's account of Codomannus Darius's order of march; where we are told, that a fire called sacred and eternal, borne on silver altars in front of the army, was followed, first by Magi chanting an ancestral hymn, then by 365 youths wrapped in crimson cloaks, denoting the days of the sun's yearly round.

The other five objects, besides the Sun, which Herodotus enumerates as having from the beginning been worshipped by the Persians, in addition to their great god, "the whole circle of the sky," are the moon, the earth, fire, water, winds. Not one of these is unknown to the Veda of the Hindus. Concerning two of them, we would adduce what was attested to the Greeks by their countryman, the historian Dinon,[k] a contemporary of the last of the two kings whose naming of Mithra in their inscriptions has been cited. Dinon related, that the sacrifices of the Persians were performed in the open air, beneath the vault of heaven, and that fire and water were the only images of gods employed. Of their way of sacrificing to running water, Strabo's description has been produced in the former part of this volume. But Dinon's statement, as it respects fire, is confirmed by a corresponding notion,

[k] In the latest of his fragments, Dinon mentions Okhus's behaviour in Egypt, B. C. 350. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protr.* i. chap. 5 p. 19 edit. Sylburg. (C. Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. ii. p. 91.) cites Dinon (the father of Alexander's follower Cleitarkhus) thus—

Θύειν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τούτους (τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τοὺς Μάγους) ὁ Δείνων λέγει, θεῶν ἀγάλματα μόνα τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ νομίζοντας.

Both fire and running water are specially described as gods of the Persians by Herodotus in iii. 16 and i. 138. As to ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, "in the field," or "open air," or "under the vault of heaven," having related already that the Persians had no (human-shaped) images of gods, nor god-houses, nor altars (for burnt-offering), Herodotus informs us, that the animal to be killed to a god was led "to a clean spot;" Herod. i. 132. Xenophon says, "on the heights; as the manner of the Persians is to sacrifice;" Cyrop. viii. 7 § 3. This Herodotus confirms, in respect of the sacrifices to Zeus (Auramazdá), saying, that it is the custom of the Persians in order to do sacrifice to Zeus, to go up to the top of the highest mountain. So standing, they would have a better view of "the whole circle of the sky" which Auramazdá pervaded or which (according to Herodotus) they regarded Zeus to be.

discernible in the hymns of the Vaidik Hindus, where Agni, the fire-god, is called, to come to the rite, to bring the gods with him in his car, and to sit with them on the spread *kusa* grass. In one hymn he is prayed to "assume his vestments (of light) and offer the petitioners' sacrifice;" to "become their ministrant priest, invested with radiance;" the fire which the worshippers had kindled by rubbing two woods together, being considered—not the god himself but—a manifestation of him, a garb for him to assume.[1] Nay, we find a hymn wherein it is said, "Whatever (divine) beings I may with other men invoke (to the ceremony), thou, Agni, assumest all their celestial natures!" [m]

But Dinon's testimony (if we have correctly stated it) leads to the suspicion, that to the sun also, to the moon, and to the earth, the same character of an image or manifestation of an indwelling god was attached by the Persians. Heaven itself was but the visible abode of the ubiquity of the Most Great God; and the winds may have been distinguished, as vehicles, from beings they bore.

If the tendency in worship of the Persian mind, was from polytheism towards a devotion to a single and supreme Being—just as, in the political life, their nation, first, had owned the authority of a multitude of petty chiefs; then, had submitted to the single rule of the kings who reigned successively from Akhæmenes to the great Cyrus; then, under Cyrus and his successors, had become themselves a ruling nation, and their king the king of other kings—they might be led at last to look to Auramazdà alone, even when they offered customary homage to fire or to the sun. But we have learnt from Plutarch, that in venerating the sun they did not, in fact, consider the image to be Auramazdà's own, but that of a Mediator with Auramazdà; and this is not inconsistent with the accounts of their religion given by Herodotus and Strabo, or with the addition of the name of Mithra to that of Auramazdà,

[1] See the twenty-sixth Hymn; Wilson's *Rig-Veda Sanhitá* pp. 67, 68.
[m] Or "persons." See the *Rig-Veda Sanhita*, hymn 69 stanza 3.

made by Artaxerxes Mnemon, by Okhus, and by Xenophon's Cyrus.[n] In the worship of fire, in like manner, we must suppose, they beheld in that image (as Dinon called it) not Auramazdà himself, but a Mediator with Auramazdà. For, not only Mithra but, (within doors at least) the hearth-fire (according to Xenophon [o]) was invoked by the Persians as well as Auramazdà ; indeed, was prayed to first. And this very circumstance, (the uniform preliminary, according to Strabo, whatever god was sacrificed to) interpreted by the hymns to Agni in the Veda, proves that they prayed to fire as to a Mediator.

This regard to fire, paid by the Persians and by the Vaidik Hindus, seems clearly to have had its origin in a matter of fact ; quite distinct from the speculative reasons on account of which the sun had been taken for a god or decreed to be the image of a god.

In sacrifice—the well-known rite of reconciliation instituted by the Creator of the parents of the human race, after they had through disobedience become greatly estranged from Him and so far subject (they and their progeny) to another power, the power of evil, who appeared to the woman as a serpent and is called Satan (that is, enemy) and devil (that is, Accuser of men)—the function of fire appears to exhibit the terrible justice of God in the punishment of the great enemy and his adherents, within the "lake that burneth with fire and brimstone," the place of a second death of the unreconciled children of Adam. But, having received this institution like the other families of man, those who, in Media and Fars at least, were the new instructors and managers of worship among the Aryan immigrants, the Magi, pretended that this function defiled the fire, and so, instead of using it in the appointed manner, paid homage to the fire by itself,[p] just as the

[n] especially Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 7 § 3.

[o] Cyrop. vii. 5 § 57 and i. 6 § 1.

[p] Strabo, who tells us that Fire was first prayed to by the Persians, to whatever god they were purposing to do sacrifice, xv. 3 § 16, describes the method of sacrificing to Fire, § 14. And this we shall perhaps take occasion to recite hereafter. But his account (§ 15) of the Fire-temples

early priests among the Egyptians corrupted the rite by pretending on their side that the sacrificial animals, or some of them at least, were too holy to be killed at the

which he had seen in his native province, we will give here. "In Cappadocia," says he, "(for the tribe of the Magi is numerous, and they are also called Πύραιθοι, fire-burners, and there are many sacred places, ἱερά, of the Persian gods) they do not even sacrifice with a knife but with a sort of log, as though they were pounding with a pestle: and there are also Πυραιθεῖα, Fire-burners' buildings, a remarkable sort of shrine: and in the middle of these an altar, wherein both there is a quantity of ashes, and the Magi keep guard over (φυλάσσουσι) a fire that must not be extinguished; and every day they go in and chant (ἐπᾴδουσι) for about an hour; holding before the fire the bundle of the rods" (already mentioned, *i. e.* ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην, "a bundle of thin rods of tamarisk") "with tiaras of felt upon their heads, the cheek-pieces of which hang down on each side so far as to cover the lips. The same practices are used in the precincts (ἱεροῖς) of Anaitis and Omanes; and there are shrines (σηκοί) also of these gods, and there goes an image of Omanes in procession." Here the MSS of Strabo have Ναΐτιδος for Ἀναΐτιδος. Elsewhere (xi. 8 § 4,) Strabo tells of a precinct at Zela in Pontus, or Northern Cappadocia, belonging to Anaitis and the gods, her partners in the altar, Omanes and Anadatus. Not one of these Περσικοὶ δαίμονες as Strabo calls them, can have been properly Persian. We would rather trace them to the "White Syrians" of Cappadocia, or to the northern Chaldæans in Armenia. Strabo's *Anadatos* appears to be the *Annédótos* of Berosus, cited (after Eusebius) from Abydenus and Apollodorus (if not from Alexander Polyhistor also) by Georg. Syncellus, ed. Dindorf. pp. 69, 71. The clearest statement is that of Abydenus. From this it appears, that Annédótos was the proper designation of the second of seven "semi-dæmons," in shape half-fish half-human, who successively came up out of the Red Sea (or Persian gulf) and instructed the antediluvian population of Chaldæa. These seven appear to be, (1.) *Oannes*, the most celebrated of all, who visited men at the beginning of the reign of Alorus, the first of the ten antediluvian kings; (2.) *Annédótus*, who is placed in the time of the third king; then (3.) *Euedókos;* (4.) *Eneugamos;* (5.) *Eneubúlos;* (6.) *Anémentos;*—all placed under the sixth king, and (7.) *Anódaphos*, in the reign of the seventh king. This extract from Abydenus appears to have been transferred to his own pages by Georg. Syncellus from the Chronicon of Eusebius, where the passage is found in the Armenian version (ed. Mai, p. 22,) and thence inserted in Carl Mueller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. 4. p. 281 frag. 2. Here, our second of the seven semi-dæmon "living beings," is called *Anidostus;* the three following in Mai's Armenian MS. are, Iodocus, Damosnes, and Bolus, but in the margin they are written,

altar and burnt thereon, but petted bulls and goats and worshipped them, as in themselves types and images of

Iotages, Eneugamus, Enebulus. All seven of these "living beings," were noticed by Apollodorus; but the extract from him, in Georg. Syncellus (ed. Dind. pp. 71, 72 and in the Armenian Chronicon of Eusebius, ed Mai, p. 5 or C. Muller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. 2. p. 499) names only the first, the second, and the seventh whom it calls *Odakón*. The first and second are named by Syncellus (that is, in the Greek of Apollodorus) as they were named by Syncellus in his citation of Abydenus; but the second in the Armenian version of Eusebius's extract from Apollodorus is *Idotion*. Apollodorus relates that of the seven, the latter six taught men in particular, κατὰ μέρος, the matters which Oannes had spoken of summarily, κεφαλαιωδῶς. What Berosus had related of Oannes, we learn from Alexander Polyhistor, cited by Geor. Syncellus (ed. Dindorf. p. 50) but, as it seems, out of the Chronicon of Eusebius where, in the Armenian version, the same passage of Alexander Polyhistor is found. "In the first year (of Alorus the first of the ten antediluvian kings) Oannes came up out of the Erythræan sea upon the Babylonian coast. This living being had the body of a fish, but below the head of the fish there grew another head, and out of the tail of the fish there grew legs as of a human being; and it had the voice of a human being. Its likeness was (in Berosus's time) still preserved. This being stayed with mankind during the day, taking no food. It gave them acquaintance with letters, and mathematics (μαθήματα) and arts of all sorts. It taught them to form communities of men in cities, to build temples, to bring in laws, also the measurement of land (γεωμετρίαν). It shewed them how to sow and gather crops. In short, this being delivered to mankind all that relates to the taming of life; so that since then, no extraordinary discovery had been made (down to the days of Berosus). When the sun was gone down, Oannes went down again into the sea, and lived the nights there; for it could live both in water and in air. Oannes also wrote a book, out of which the Chaldæans derived their knowledge of the original state of the world, with its strange inhabitants, and of the creation of the present state of things by Belus who divided the waters and separated the sky from the earth, who made man out of his own blood mixed with earth, to dwell upon the earth, and in heaven created the stars, the sun, the moon, and the five planets." Berosus's account of these things as retailed by Alexander Polyhistor, is given in Georg. Syncellus (p. 52 ed. Dindorf.; and appears in the Armenian version of Eusebius's Chronicon (ed. Mai, p. 8.) Note here, that, as Alexander Polyhistor and perhaps Berosus himself added, that Belus is interpreted *Zeus*, the Armenian version has it, that the Greeks interpret Belus by *Zeus* and the Armenians by *Aramasdes*, *i. e.* the Auramazdá of the Persian inscriptions. We

the good God. Thus, the one sort as well as the other refused to look upon the prophetic dumb-shew, of justice and mercy to be in process of time united in the sacrifice of the Only-begotten of God upon a felon's cross.

We think, then, that there is reason for putting the sun of the Persians into the same category to which Dinon assigned their sacred fire—that of god-images; and further, that there is reason for supposing them to have regarded the sacred fire as possessing the character which (according to Plutarch) they assigned to the sun, namely, that of a Mediator whose presence was necessary or desirable when it was intended to sacrifice animals and offer prayers to the Great God Auramazdà.

On the tomb of our Darius Hystaspes' son there is a scene sculptured, which may be regarded as an authentic picture of the worship of the Great God named in the inscriptions of this king and his descendants. If we may trust engravings of a drawing of it by Sir Robert Ker Porter, the king stands on a sort of pedestal or platform by which he is lifted three steps above the level of the ground. He faces an altar, which is mounted likewise on a basement three steps high, and has its top covered with a blazing heap. In the quarter of the sky towards which the king's face is turned, beyond the altar is seen the sun's disk. But between the king and the blazing altar, above the height of the fire, is the same emblematic figure of Auramazdà which we see sculptured at Behistun and which had been used for time out of mind by Assyrian

must add that the first syllable in *Annédótus* as also in the names of the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh of the semi-dæmon living beings, the instructors of antediluvian mankind, is the Assyrian determinative, sounded *an* and signifying "a god," which in the cuneiform inscriptions we are told is put before the name of a god. It is the ninety-third in Sir H. C. Rawlinson's indiscriminate list of Babylonian and Assyrian characters; Journal R. A. S. vol. xiv. Hence, the omission of this first syllable in various readings of the second and seventh of these names of man-fish beings. Lastly, if the Anadatus of Strabo, the second of the σύμβωμοι of Anahita at Zela, be the Annédótus of Berosus, we are led to ask, Can his Omanes, the first σύμβωμος, be the same with the Oannes of Berosus?

artists to signify the supreme deity.[q] It faces the king, and its back is to the sun. The king, as at Behistun, with his left hand grasps a strung bow by one end, (the other end pointing downwards but not reaching the ground) while he holds out his right hand before his face. Why the right hand is thus uplifted and stretched out, might be questioned, if we had the Behistun sculpture alone before us; but it seems to be determined by the sculpture above the tomb, as a gesture accompanying invocation, praise, and prayer. Yet, if we may trust our engravings of both the sculptures, the king is represented as unconscious of the whereabout of the presence of the Great God; as if this was exhibited for the instruction of the spectator only. In the Behistun sculpture, where the king stands on no pedestal but on the same level as the other figures, his followers and his conquered enemies, having only the superiority of a greater stature assigned to him, there is no altar in front of him; he has his left foot planted before him on the belly of the prostrate Magian, and he views beyond, a file of rivals with hands tied behind them, and necks strung together by a rope—the final result of a series of wars, which from first to last continued for several years. He might seem, with his hand held out as it is, to be speaking to his captives. He is rather speaking of them. The tomb-piece teaches us to take him as doing in dumb-show, what he does in the ears of all men by his inscription; that is, ascribing his victories to him who in that sculpture floats in air above

q The same emblem is sculptured on the Behistun rock and represents Auramazdá bringing bound into the presence of Darius, the king's nine or, including the Sakan, his ten rivals. It was borrowed from the Assyrian sculptures. Compare the three specimens from the N. W. palace at Nimrûd (the ancient Calah) in Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains* vol. 2 p. 448. In the emblem of Auramazdá, shall we say that the circle out of which rises the upper part of the figure—human above and bird-tailed below—is the "circle of the sky" which Herodotus identifies with Auramazdá, Herod. i. 131? That the prayer which Darius makes on his tomb, is to Auramazdá alone, appears from the translations. See especially Mr H. Fox Talbot's translation of the Assyrian copy; Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. pp. 261–273.

the bound and haltered pretenders, and who seems to have brought them in their helpless condition before the king; since, other escort they have none. For, in the tomb-piece, instead of these conquered enemies, he has the sacred fire before him, at which he appears to look, rather than upward at the to him invisible Auramazdà. But it is intimated by the emblematic figure of the Great God, floating in air above the space which divides the king from the altar, and it is demonstrated by the accompanying trilingual inscription, that his prayers are addressed to Auramazdà, that for the successes of his life he ascribes the praise to Auramazdà, and that he enjoins obedience in future to the law of Auramazdà. Nor is there any other god united with Auramazdà in this inscription; or even alluded to, except in the epithet "chief" or "supreme of gods," given to Auramazdà in the preamble. It appears, then, that when the Persian religion was in its purest state, prayer was made to Auramazdà, and the praises of Auramazdà were recited before a sacred fire and before the sun.

These objects, our previous considerations lead us to suppose, were regarded not as two manifestations of the great unseen God, but rather as two images of perhaps a single Mediator—forms, of which one could be created and guarded by the Magi, while the other was far removed from mankind. This—the disk of the sun—may also have been taken for the seat of the ordinary presence of the god of heaven; whence it was hoped to call him forth with his help to the king; a chariot in the sky which it was supposed he might leave, when invoked in war, in order to seat himself on one prepared for him and to lead the king on the way to victory. In Orissa still, the Good god, the creator (whose rebellious wife is esteemed the great source of evil), the pre-Hindu (perhaps Kushite) population, the Khonds, call the god of Light and in some districts the god of the Sun; while this luminary, and the place where it rises beyond the sea, are held to be the chief seats of his presence.[r]

[r] See Journal R. A. S. vol. xiii. p. 223.

Instruction—whether this or another—may certainly be derived from Darius's tomb-sculpture (when illustrated by Talbot's, Norris's, and Rawlinson's translations of that one of the two tomb-inscriptions which is repeated in Assyrian and Kissian as well as set forth in Aryan) and similar instruction, but less ample, is perhaps to be gathered from a passage in the life of Artaxerxes Mnemon, where Plutarch [8] (borrowing undoubtedly from Ktesias or Dinon or some other contemporary of that king or of his son Okhus) relates the sequel of the contention between the king and his eldest son Darius whom he had proclaimed his successor. Unable to endure his concubine Aspasia's preference of Darius, though he had himself given her leave to choose between them, the king (after having made good his promise, by suffering his son for a while to have her) had dedicated her to the probably obscene service of the goddess Anakhita at Ekbatana. The son, tempted by others who had their discontents, arising likewise out of the king's amours, was induced to conspire against his father. He was arrested, brought before the royal judges within the palace, found guilty of an attempt upon his father's life, and condemned to death. The sentence was executed immediately, either (as some said) in an adjoining room where an executioner pulled his head down by the hair with one hand while he cut the neck through with a razor in the other—or else (as others asserted) in the very place of judgment, where he threw himself down with his face upon the ground, and the king, drawing his short sword, ἀκινάκης, struck him to death with his own hand. When all was over, the king came forth into the court of the palace, worshipped the sun, and said to those who stood there, "Rejoice, ye Persians, and go tell the rest, that the great Oromazes hath laid justice upon them that purposed iniquity." The king, it seems, had bowed before the luminary whose light shone in the palace-court; yet it is not the judgment of Mithra which he proceeds to declare. Auramazdà was not forgotten, while worship was made

[8] vit. Artax. cap. 29.

toward the sun. This was but an intermediate light; or (as it were) an angel of the presence of Auramazdà. The homage of the king seems to correspond with that prayer to fire which (according to Strabo) preceded every Persian sacrifice.

But in considering this act of Artaxerxes Mnemon's, we are to remember that, with him and with his son Okhus as with the Cyrus of their contemporary Xenophon, Mithra was a god who might be named along with, though after, Auramazdà. By Mnemon, both the Babylonian Anakhita and the Aryan sun-god Mithra were admitted by name into a trilingual inscription, and by their effigies into a temple, at Susa; and the name of the sun-god was received by Okhus into an Aryan inscription repeated in at least two places at Persepolis. Mithra, then, was by these kings (as by Xenophon) counted for a distinct personality; probably a mediator with Auramazdà, and, if an image, a living image, of that chief of the gods. The inscription of Okhus—being set up in the capital of Fars among the Persians who had been bred at home and followed the old customs of the nation—may be considered to speak the ordinary sentiment of the Persians, particularly as Okhus does not omit the preamble (so commonly employed by Xerxes, after the example of his father Darius) a confession that Auramazdà is "the Great God who made this world, who made that heaven, who made mankind, who gave to men their destinies;[t] who made the author of the in-

[t] As to the clause, "who gave the destinies or fortunes of men," we have here adopted Mr Fox Talbot's conjectural version of the Assyrian word *tuki*, "fortunes." The Aryan word is the accusative, *shiyátim*, which is repeated in the Kissian by its nominative *siyatis*: the sense has been mere matter of conjecture. In Menu's Institutes it is declared to the Hindús, that the Supreme Being assigned from the first to the creatures distinct names and different functions and different duties; i. 21; to such a being such an occupation; 28. Mr Talbot doubts whether the resemblance between the Assyrian *tuki* and the Greek τύχη be accidental or not. Supposing a real kindred, we should be inclined to think that both the Assyrian and the Greek may have borrowed from the old Kushite language of Babylonia. The substantive τύχη, according to Liddell and Scott, is not found in the Homeric epics, though it is found

scription, king, both king alone of many and lawgiver alone of many." Okhus does more than say with our Darius son of Hystaspes, "So do for me Auramazdà with the gods of (my) house;" or with Xerxes, "Auramazdà protect me with the gods." He says, "May Auramazdà and may the god Mithra protect me." His form of prayer resembles that which Xenophon puts into the mouth of the great Cyrus at his last sacrifice; Cyrus took devoted animals, ἱερεῖα (says Xenophon) and sacrificed them to Auramazdà, Διὶ πατρῴῳ, and to Mithra, Ἡλίῳ (which term he makes a proper name, by omitting the usual article) and to the other gods, on the heights near Pasargadæ, as the Persians do. Then he prayed over his sacrifice, beginning thus; "O Auramazdà and Mithra and all ye gods, take these things."[u]

The difference, then, which we discern in form between the religion of Darius Hystaspes' son and that of Okhus, is the prominence of Mithra, who is selected from the inferior gods, brought forward, and named along with Auramazdà, as though taken for his second in the heavenly kingdom. To illustrate this fact, we will quote Herodotus's account of the order in which, at the setting forth of the great host of Xerxes from Sardis for the Hellespont, the king's own division marched; and to this we will subjoin Xenophon's description, derived by him from the contemporary custom, of the order of procession in which at the beginning of his reign, Cyrus rode forth from the palace at Babylon to do sacrifice in the neighbourhood of the city.

In the march of the host of Xerxes from Sardis, described by the contemporary of that king's son and successor, we find that the baggage having been sent off before and followed by more than half the army in one mass, after a space came the royal procession, which we

in one of the hymns. (See Hymn x. 5): also Theogn. 130 and Archil. 131. But τυχεῖν, "to hit" is common enough in Homer. In a former note we touched on the acquaintance of the Greeks with the Kushites before the days of Homer.

[u] Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 7 § 3.

wish to compare with the one used on state occasions in Xenophon's time, though the device of it he attributes to the great Cyrus. In front, rode a thousand horsemen, picked from the whole body of the Persians; then, a thousand footmen, likewise picked from the whole nation and armed with spears (*αἰχμοφόροι*) of which they turned the points, *λόγχαι*, downward towards the earth. These two thousand horse and foot may be considered the vanguard of the royal procession. Behind it were led along ten sacred horses of the Nisæan breed, beautifully caparisoned. After these, and drawn by eight white horses, followed the sacred chariot of Zeus, that is to say (as in his account of the Persian religion the historian says expressly) the god of the whole circle of the sky, or, as the Greek name for the greatest of gods applied to him clearly indicates, the Persian chief of gods Auramazdà. Behind the team, and having hold of the reins, followed a driver on foot; because no human being might mount upon that throne, *θρόνον*. Next after, followed king Xerxes in a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses with his driver, Patiramphes son of Otanes, a Persian, mounted beside him.[v] The king had also in attendance a sort of palanquin or dooly upon wheels, a four-wheeled carriage with a tilt over-head and curtains at the sides, *ἁρμάμαξα*, to which he withdrew when he chose. Behind him followed a second thousand footmen the bravest and best-born of the Persians, armed with spears and pointing them according to the law; then, a second thousand horsemen of the pick of the Persians; after these, a body of foot, ten thousand strong, chosen from the remainder of the Persians; one thousand of whom, whose places in the column were on the outside,

[v] Herodotus's words as to Xerxes, *παραβεβήκεε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος* are equivalent to Xenophon's (Cyrop. viii. 3 § 14) as to Cyrus, *παρωχεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ ἡνίοχος*. The *παραβαται* of Cyrop. vii. 1 § 29 and Strabo xv. 1 § 52 are "driver's companions," that is, the fighting men. So the consul at a Roman triumph is described as *ἅρματι παρεμβεβηκὼς* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, R. A. viii. 67 and ix. 71. Also vii. 73 the masters are described as *οἱ παρεμβεβηκότες τοῖς ἅρμασι*, and presently as *οἱ παρεχούμενοι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις, οὓς οἱ ποιηταὶ μὲν παραβάτας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καλοῦσιν ἀποβάτας.*

instead of a spike to pitch the spear upon had a pomegranate of gold at the butt-end of their spear-handles. The rest had pomegranates of silver. But the spearmen of the two bodies of a thousand already mentioned, one of which preceded the troop of sacred horses while the other followed the king's chariot, the points of whose spears were turned towards the earth, had likewise the butt-end of their weapons (which must have been the upper end in their mode of pointing or trailing their spears) headed with pomegranates of gold. Behind this richly armed infantry, a body of ten thousand Persian horse formed the extreme rear-guard of the royal column ; for, behind them was left an open space of about two furlongs, and then followed the rest of the army in an unbroken mass.[w]

By the side of this description, let us place now the one which Xenophon has handed down to us, from the practice of the reign of Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon, though he applies it to the procession in which, at the beginning of

[w] For the procession of Xerxes see Herod. vii. 40, 41 ; and again 55. Altogether, the escort which went before and followed the sacred horses, the sacred car and the royal car, amounted to 12,000 foot and 12,000 horse, all Persians. Of these, all the infantry and two bodies of 1000 horse are expressly said to be picked men, and it appears that the points considered were birth and bravery. Observe, that the number of thousands is that of the tribes, and also the myriads into which Xenophon reports the Persian nation to have been divided, Cyrop. i. 2 §§ 5, 15, but whether arbitrarily, after levy of the military force, topographically, or according to descent, we have doubted. Again, observe, that of the foot, the three bodies, each of 1000, who had gilt or golden pomegranates at the butt of their spear-handles (instead of the silver pomegranates of the other nine like bodies of 1000 foot), correspond in number with the three ruling tribes of Persians, the Pasargadæ, Maraphii and Maspii, ἐξ ὧν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι. Herod. i. 125. If, then, the twelve myriads of Xenophon were the fighting force of his twelve Persian tribes; and if, in the escort of Xerxes, the 12,000 foot and 12,000 horse were selected from the twelve myriads; and the 3000 most splendidly armed of the infantry, from the three tribes on which the other Persian tribes (according to Herodotus) depended ; the question raised above pp. 274–6 whether the twelve-fold division of the nation had, or had not, reference to hereditary occupation of twelve portions of the Persian territory, would seem to be determined in the affirmative.

his reign as king supreme, the great Cyrus went forth from the palace at Babylon to sacrifice at a place in the neighbourhood that had been consecrated for the Persian worship.

Outside the palace-gate, all was ready before sunrise.[x] The road-way for the stately train was marked on each side by a row of poles, within which none but persons of distinction were permitted to set foot; and order was kept upon the ground by men armed with whips. The troops were posted thus. Of the spearmen or foot-guards (δορυφόροι) who, as it had been stated previously,[y] were in all ten thousand, a body of four thousand, in four ranks, faced the palace gates, and together with two other bodies of two thousand men a-piece, one on the right, the other on the left, of the gate, formed (it would seem) the three sides of a square which was completed by the wall and gateway of the palace. All the cavalry, too, were assembled; the Persians, to the right of the road-way that was to be followed; those of the other nations, to the left. The men stood dismounted, with their hands in the sleeves of their tunics, as in Xenophon's time it was customary to keep them while the king looked on. The war-chariots, too, were upon the ground, stationed in like manner, half on the one side and half on the other. When the palace gates were thrown open (we may suppose, at sunrise) first, there were led out in four ranks a number of bulls of perfect beauty, for Zeus (Auramazdà) and what gods the Magi named besides. After the bulls were horses, led along for sacrifice to the sun (Mithra). After these was led out a white chariot (and horses) with a yoke of gold and hung with garlands, sacred to Zeus (Auramazdà). After this a white chariot (and horses) of the sun's (Mithra's), hung with garlands like the first. After this again, a third chariot, its horses covered with scarlet cloths, φοινικίσι καταπεπταμένοι, and men followed behind, bearing a fire upon a great brazier, ἐπ' ἐσχάρης μεγάλης.

[x] The πρὸ ἡμέρας of Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 3 § 9 is explained by the previous περὶν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν, § 2.

[y] Xen. Cyr. vii. 5 § 68.

Then, in the rear of these, made his appearance out of the gates upon a chariot, Cyrus himself with his tiara upright, and (a distinction granted also to his "kinsmen") a *diadema* upon his tiara. Not to dwell with our author upon his tunic, trowsers, gown—we add that his hands were displayed out of his sleeves, and beside him rode a charioteer, tall of stature, yet shorter than the king; for whether such was really the case, or however it came to pass, Cyrus seemed the taller much. As soon as they beheld Cyrus, all worshipped—whether that some had received an order so to do and the rest followed the example, or because they all were struck with his majesty. It was the first time that any Persian had offered this homage to his king.

As soon as the king's chariot was come forward, the troops began to move,—the four thousand foot-guards in front and the two thousand on each flank. When the king's suite had passed (consisting of three hundred eunuch wand-bearers, σκηπτοῦχοι, on horseback, armed with javelins, and the king's stud of horses with gold bridles and striped body-clothing, about two hundred in number) there followed in the rear the rest of the foot-guards, two thousand men, carrying halberds, ξυστοφόροι; then the cavalry fell into the train behind; first, the Persians, in four successive squares of a hundred men in front and a hundred deep, forty thousand in all; then, Medes, then, Armenians, then, Hyrcanians, then, Cadusians, and then, Sacans. After the cavalry, the war-chariots, four-a-breast, closed the train.

When the procession reached the sacred precincts, they sacrificed the bulls to Zeus (Auramazdà). After that, they sacrificed the horses to the sun (Mithra). After that, they slaughtered and did as they were instructed by the Magi, to Earth (γῇ not τῇ γῇ,) and afterwards, to the heroes whom (As)syria belonged to.

To his mention of the killing in sacrifice of the bulls and horses, Xenophon adds in each case two words, which express that of those slain beasts they made whole burnt-offerings. He adds, καὶ ὡλοκαύτωσαν. This must be a mistake, unless we suppose that in the worship of some

Aryan deities, ancient practice was adhered to, and the Magian doctrine disregarded. We know from Herodotus[z] and Strabo, that there was no altar of burnt-offering used by the Persians, and that after the devoted animal had been killed and cut up, the joints (having first been boiled, according to Herodotus, and having been laid out for a while on a scattering of tenderest grass, like the sacred *kusa* grass of the Hindu rite, or upon twigs of myrtle or laurel, as Strabo says in describing the sacrifice to water) were distributed among themselves and carried away for their own use, by those who had made the sacrifice. Strabo also tells us expressly, that fire was held to be defiled by the contact of any thing dead.

Xenophon, it is possible, was deceived by the fact, that as, in front of the first of the three sacred chariots in the procession, there went bulls and horses for sacrifice, so behind the last, there followed men bearing a great pan of fire. But this fire (if we believe Strabo, and if we call to mind the Vaidik previous invocations of Agni, the priest and Mediator) was to be prayed to, perhaps was to furnish the material of four fires that were to surround and, as the Hindus thought, to protect the rites,—before the sacrifices were begun to Auramazdà, to Mithra, to Earth, and to the heroes that owned the Chaldæo-Assyrian soil. Earth, the third object of the sacrifices described by Xenophon, seems to be the un-named deity of the third sacred chariot; unless this was the fire-god, whose red horses are celebrated in Vaidik hymns. But whether the third chariot was Earth's or not, the sacrifice to Earth,

[z] Herodotus speaks of the pieces of the slain beasts that were ultimately carried away for the sacrificer's use, being boiled at the place of sacrifice, before they were laid out on a layer of tender herbage and chanted over by the Magian who directed the ceremony; Herod. i. 132, comp. iv. 60. We will here remark, that the horses as well as other animals slain in sacrifice by the Persians, were eaten by them; and that fire was used to cook with in baking as well as boiling, without being defiled: for Herodotus tells us that rich Persians on their birth-days, which were high festivals, would set out for the feast "an ox, and a horse, and a camel, and an ass, (all) roasted whole in ovens, ὅλους ἑπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι, Herod. i. 133. He seems to express himself as if the four were to be seen together at the same feast.

following those to Auramazdà and Mithra, leads us to a part of the Persian religion which we have left as yet untouched. We will return to it speedily. For the present, passing by the third chariot and the third sacrifice, we observe that the great remaining difference between the professed trust of Xerxes and that of Okhus Artaxerxes, let us say, appears to be this, that under the former king, Mithra is not separately recognized, being (if any where) but the charioteer of Auramazdà's car; while under Okhus, he is in the most significant manner proclaimed next and most like to Auramazdà.

The prayer to fire, which preceded the sacrifices to Auramazdà and Mithra, was probably accompanied by what Strabo calls sacrifice to fire; that is (as he describes the rite) by laying upon the live embers dry sticks stripped of their bark, putting thereon fat πιμελὴν, (query, butter?) and then, kindling a flame by pouring upon the pile, oil (perhaps *ghee*, that is, clarified butter, the oblation of the Vaidik Hindus) while air was supplied not by blowing with the mouth but by the movement of fans or hand-punkahs. The Vaidik hymns proclaim repeatedly the close connection between the *Maruts*, winds, which the Persians also adored, and Agni, the god of fire.

We have still to advert to the sacrifice Xenophon speaks of, made to Earth. This sacrifice looks very like a propitiating of the power of evil, called by our Lord, the Prince of this world,[a] and by S. Paul, the god of this world,[b] who is the Wicked One mentioned in the Lord's Prayer, and is commonly named the devil and Satan. This being was well known to the Magian theologers. He is referred to by Darius in the Behistun inscription in the fourth paragraph of the fourth column thus;[c] "These are the

[a] S. John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11. [b] 2 Cor. iv. 4.

[c] See particularly, Norris on the passage in the Kissian; Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 127, and Sir H. C. Rawlinson's note p. vi. on re-examination of the Aryan text on the rock; appended to vol. xii. of the Journal. It is a pity that we cannot recover the term in the Aryan, commencing *Di* and used instead of the Auramazda of the Kissian, to shew the opposite character of that deity by a term opposed to *Darugadiva*, the description given of Areimanius.

provinces that rebelled; the god of lies" (*darauga diva* in the Aryan) "made them rebel that they might subvert the state, and then Auramazdà delivered them into my hand." It would seem that the bad practices of Magianism were mostly connected with rites by which the spite of this evil being might be soothed, or his aid obtained; and it is not surprising, if the king who, while he owned Auramazdà the Great God and the God of goodness, worshipped the image of the goddess Anakhita, also sacrificed to Areimanius the god of lies and all evil. Just so, the Yeseedees now pay much more worship to him whom they readily own to be the author of evil, than they do to him of whom they say, "He is from the Light, He is everywhere." Indeed, they say of him, "Sheikh Adi is so good, there is no need to invoke him, whereas Melek Taoos (king peacock)"—for they dread to offend him by calling him Satan, and they name him after his banner, a bird upon a stand, which may be compared to the eagle of a Roman legion,—"he is so bad that he must be propitiated continually." [d]

As the Persians, according to Herodotus, beheld in the whole circle of heaven that Great God, the Creator and the Supreme, whom they called Auramazdà; so in the earth, which, according to Herodotus as well as Xenophon, they also worshipped, it is probable they recognized the antagonist power of evil whom they named Areimanius. But that they did in fact connect Arimanius with earth, no less than they connected Auramazdà with heaven, is intimated in Plutarch's account of the doctrine of Zoroaster.[e] Plutarch says that, unlike some who made both to be gods, this great teacher called the Power of good, God, and the Power of evil, Dæmon, and named the former Oromazes, the latter Areimanius; declaring, moreover, the former to be more like to Light than to any other sensible thing; the other, to darkness and ignorance. Between the two he placed Mithras or the sun. Now,

[d] See the Rev. G. P. Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. pp. 112–121 and Mr Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*.

[e] Plut. de Isid. et Osir. §§ 46–48.

afterwards in a legend which Plutarch relates of the creation, it is said, that "Oromazes made himself grow thrice, and so parted from the sun as far as the sun is parted from the earth." Thus, on the one hand, we have the sun placed half-way between light and darkness, Oromazes and Areimanius; while on the other, the sun stands half-way between Oromazes and the earth. Therefore, Areimanius is connected with the earth, as we suspected.

It was the god of evil, then, that Amestris the wife of Xerxes sought to appease for a while, when in her old age she made the sacrifice recorded by Herodotus.[f] She gave, (says he) in exchange for herself, to the god who is said to be under ground, twice seven Persian children, whose fathers were men of distinction, burying them alive in the earth.

The religion, from which the rites practised by Amestris were borrowed, was perhaps of common descent with that of the present Khonds, a surviving aboriginal race of India. It may have been Kissian rather than Aryan.[g] According to the Khond tradition, the Supreme Being, the Source of good, who is called the god of light, created first for himself a consort, and afterwards the earth, of which she became the goddess. Dissatisfied with her, he resolved to create a more devoted servant, Man. By five successive handfuls of earth which he threw behind him, he created all that grows upon the ground, all that lives in water, all lower land animals, all the winged things of air, and lastly, man. To every sort he gave power to propagate their numbers. No evil yet was found, moral or physical. Men had free intercourse with their Maker. They were not clothed; they lived in peace one with another, their wants were supplied without toil by the spontaneous produce of the soil. They were not tied to the ground but

[f] Herod. vii. 114.

[g] The Persians called the Evil Power by an Aryan name. But if Areimanius is the *Aryaman* of Vaidik hymns, he was not originally viewed as an Evil Power, like the Shiv or Shiva of post-Vaidik Hindu mythology.

could move through both air and sea: nor had the lower animals power to harm them.

Then, the earth-goddess who had vainly impeded the creation, jealous of his love to man rebelled against the god of light. She "sowed the seeds of sin in mankind as in a ploughed field." She introduced diseases, poisons. These elements of physical evil the god of light met by antidotes; but to receive or reject moral evil, he left man free.

A few remained sinless: the rest became disobedient to the Creator and fell to war among themselves. Then to the few he said, "Become ye gods, living for ever, seeing my face; and having power over men who are no more my immediate care." From the mass of men he withdrew his antidotes against physical evil. Discord became universal. The course of the seasons was disordered; the land was turned into a wilderness of jungle, rocks and mud. Disease and death came upon all creatures. Snakes became venomous; other animals, savage; flowers and fruits poisonous. Degraded and suffering, men now went clothed: and they had lost the power of travelling through the air and the sea, walking now only upon the ground. Meanwhile, the god of light and his rebel wife contended for supremacy throughout the earth, the sea and the sky; their chief weapons being mountains, meteors, and whirlwinds.

Up to this point the Khonds are agreed in their tradition; wherein they seem to have confounded the Creator and the created author of evil with the first human pair. Adam is not distinguished from Him Who began His seven days' round (six days of work and a seventh of rest) by the command, "Let there be light:" while Eve has the serpent's part assigned to her, of introducing that evil whereby "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now."[h] We observe, too, that a week of five is substituted for one of seven days.

As to the issue of the contest between the god of light *(Boora Pennu)* and his consort the earth-goddess *(Tari*

[h] Rom. viii. 22.

Pennu [1]), the Khonds are divided into two sects. The sect of Boora say, that he prevailed; and that the pains of child-birth imposed upon her sex commemorate Tari's defeat. Her rebellious will, her activity for evil, and her malignity to man, are, indeed, unabated ; but she is under Boora's control, an instrument of his government, and only permitted to strike where he, the omnipotent, intends to punish. For he resolved that his work should not be lost, but man should be enabled to attain a state of moderate enjoyment upon earth, and, through the practice of virtue, to rise after death to a state of beatitude and partial communion with his Maker. To regulate the powers of nature for the use of man, to instruct him in necessary arts, to protect him against evil in every form, and generally to accomplish the good intended for man, Boora created six inferior gods as his agents, but free to bestow or to withhold the good of which they are the stewards, according as men should be punctual or remiss in supplying them with the offerings which they desire, and which are their food. A seventh inferior god he assigned to be the judge of the dead. These all, the last no less than the six, were the children of Boora and Tari, and at every ceremonial in honour of them, it was ordained that the names of their two great parents should be first invoked.

These gods have the precedence over the deified sinless men of the first age, who are tutelaries of tribes and branches of tribes. At every ceremonial the seven gods, the children of Boora and Tari, are invoked before the tutelaries of tribes; and these again, it would seem, before

[1] One cannot help suspecting that the Tari of the aboriginal Khonds is in name as well as in idea, the prototype of the Sanskrit *Kálí* (in Latin, *nigra)* defined in Duncan Forbes's Hindustani Dictionary; "the Hecatè of the Hindus and wife of (Shiv or) Shiva." As the female form of Shiv, she is called Shivá. Among her many names are also Durgá, and *Bhavàni*. The latter indicates her relationship to Shiv, for he has the name of *Bhav* or *Bhaw*, which may mean either Earth, the World, or else Terror. According to the former sense, Shiv and Kálì are two earth gods, a male and a female. Bhaváni is the patroness of the fraternity of murderers called *Thugs*.

the endless list of beatified souls of deceased ancestors, who are also always invoked by every tribe.

From these two classes—the minor gods, children of Boora and Tari, and the deified men of old—spring the local deities of the Khonds, guardians of hills, groves, streams, fountains, paths, hamlets. These are unlimited in number; no power nor object in nature, from the sea to the clods of the field, being without its deity: and they are supposed to be cognizant of every human action, want, and interest, in the locality where each presides.

But as to the position of the great goddess Tari and the agency of the minor gods, the other sect of Khonds maintain that she was never conquered, and still maintains the struggle with Boora. The followers of Boora never fail with deep awe to invoke after him, as the second Power, Tari: but her own people, while fully recognizing the supremacy of Boora as the creator and the source of good, and though they invoke him first on every occasion, hold, nevertheless, that his power, whether exerted directly or through the agency of the inferior gods, is insufficient to effectually protect, when Tari is resolved to injure or destroy; although in respect of departed souls, his purpose in favour of the good is achieved. Moreover, while they regard Tari as originally the source of evil only, they believe, nevertheless, that practically she has power to confer every form of earthly benefit, by not preventing the good which flows from Boora through the inferior gods, and positively by bestowing blessings. For to her they ascribe the civilization of men, when, upon her introduction of evil, they had fallen into a state of barbarous degradation. She it was, they think, who made the earth fit for cultivation. Under a female form called Umbally Bylee (which she always assumes when she communicates with men,) and also through her priests, she instructed men in agriculture, the chace, and war; but all blessings of which she has been, and is, either actively or permissively, the author, she gave and she allows to be still enjoyed, on the express condition of

receiving human sacrifices, which are her food, and the flesh of which is buried piece-meal in the fields.

To suppress these sacrifices, the author from whom we quote, Captain S. Chartres Macpherson, had been for years, successively assistant, and principal agent of the East India Company's Madras government.[j]

This Khond practice of sacrificing to their goddess, Earth, human beings of other tribes, bought in childhood of their parents to be so dealt by, suggests the suspicion, that wherever and whenever performed in India—even by Hindus—sacrifices of men were not of Aryan tradition, but derived from the black population who were already scattered throughout the land when it was first entered by the superior race. The theory is rendered sufficiently probable by the following evidence of the late Professor H. H. Wilson. He writes, "That human offerings to the dark forms of Shiva and Durgá were sometimes perpetrated in later times, we know from various original sources: particularly from the very effective scene in *Mádhava* and *Málati*, in which *Aghoraghanta* is represented as about to sacrifice *Málati* to *Chámundá* when she is rescued by her lover. No such divinities, however—neither Shiva nor Durgá, much less any of their terrific forms—are even named, so far as we know, in the Vedas: and, therefore, these works could not be authority for their sanguinary worship."[k] Can it be that the very name Shiva is non-Aryan? It reminds one of Seb or Sev, the

[j] See his elaborate account (not less interesting than authentic) of the Khond religion in all its parts, printed (1852) in the Journal R. A. S. vol. xiii. pp. 216–274.

[k] See Journal R. A. S. vol. xiii. p. 107 in an article "On human sacrifices in the ancient religion of India." The author adds; "That the practice is enjoined on particular occasions by the Tantras, and some of the Puranas connected with this branch of the Hindu faith, is no doubt true; but these are works of a much later date." Above, he had cited a conjecture of Mr Colebrooke, that human sacrifices may have been introduced in later times by the authors of such works as the Kálika Purána, in which minute directions are given for the offering of a human victim to Káli, whom, it is said, his blood satisfies for a thousand years.

name of the Egyptian Κρονος or Saturn. But the word means also Soul in Sanskrit.

IV.

THE Aryan appellation, Auramazdà, appears to have described, rather than named, the Being intended by it. It is certainly a term compounded of two words, *Aura* and *Mazdà;* for, in a trilingual inscription at Persepolis engraved for Xerxes son of Darius son of Hystaspes,[a] the Aryan text (as do Zend writings of later times) exhibits the two components separately inflected, or each with a case-ending of its own. The second element or component part, *Mazdâ*, has been variously explained, "great-giving," "great-creating," or "great-knowing;" [b] perhaps it means simply "great." So at least, the Doric form of the Greek term in the comparative degree suggests.[c] As to the

[a] See Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 337, where for the usual *washná Auramazdáha*, "by the will of Auramazdá," we have *washná Aurahya Mazdáha*. By the way, we would ask, Can there be any etymological connection between *washna* and the name of the Hindu deity Vishnu? H. H. Wilson tells us, "Vishnu is said to mean the pervader or pervading deity;" *Rig-veda Sanhita* (first *Ashtaka* or eighth part thereof) p. 231 note. On the name Auramazdá, Sir H. C. Rawlinson writes at large, Journal R. A. S. vol. xi. pp. 67–71. Of previous writers he refers particularly to Burnouf, citing his Yaçna, pp. 70–80.

[b] Sir H. C. Rawlinson derives *mazdá* from *maz* "great;" (appealing for this term to the Zend); and *dá*, which he takes to be a verbal suffix; but from which it comes, of three suggested roots, and therefore, whether the meaning be "giving," "creating" or "knowing," he does not decide.

[c] The Greek transcript of the latter element is μάσδης and μάζης. The proper name of a brother of Xerxes Μασίστης, like the Zend *mazista*, "greatest," from *maz* "great" and like the *mathishta*, "chief," of the Perso-Aryan inscriptions (whence a modern Persian title *Majistan*; Journal R. A. S. x. 104 note) seems to be but a superlative of μαζης or μαζα. We are led to infer that there was a Perso-Aryan form, *masdas* or *masdá*, equivalent to the Greek μέγας; for the comparative form of the latter is μείζων or in Ionic μέζων and in Doric μίσδων. If a Welshman admitted the Aryan *masdá* to be a compound of *mas*, "great," with some other word, he might put in a claim for the Kymric *da*, "good;" appealing to the title *optimus maximus* appended by the old Latins to the name of their god Jupiter.

former and substantive element, *Aura* (written *Oro* in the expression by Greek writers of the compounded whole) we are tempted to regard it as a term common to the Perso-Aryan, the Latin, and the Greek languages. In both Greek and Latin, the term conveys one of the meanings of the Greek term, πνεῦμα, that breath as it were of air, which we in English express by "wind" or "breeze." If, then, the Perso-Aryan term be identical, not by accident but in its origin, with the *aura* of the Greek and Latin languages, we are led to conjecture next, that in the appellation of "the god of the Aryans," it possesses that other and analogous meaning of the Greek πνεῦμα, which (after the Latin *spiritus*) we express by the term "spirit," a living breath. For just so, another Greek noun, ἄνεμος, signifying "wind," in its Latin forms *animus* and *anima* has the signification of the English terms "mind" and "soul."[d] Putting our thought in another shape, we say again; as ἄνεμος has one meaning in Greek, and in its Latin forms, another; both which senses (nearly) are found attached by the Greeks to the term πνεῦμα, so *aura* which, in both Latin and Greek, has a meaning distinguished but by a slight difference from that of ἄνεμος in Greek, may at the same time as an element of the Aryan term Auramazdà possess a meaning nearly or altogether the same with that of the Latin forms of ἄνεμος, which are *animus* and *anima*. It may possess that other meaning which πνεῦμα has in addition to the one of ἄνεμος or "wind." It may mean, that sort of Living Being which we term "spirit."

[d] Of πνεῦμα (a verbal substantive from πνεῖν "to breathe" or "blow") the two senses "Wind" and "Spirit," a primary and an analogous meaning, are both referred to in S. John iii. 8. The synonymousness of πνεῦμα and ἄνεμος may be aptly evinced by a scrap from Aristotle *De Mundo*—

ἄνεμος οὐδέν ἐστι πλὴν ἀὴρ πολὺς ῥέων· ὅστις ἅμα καὶ πνεῦμα λέγεται.

As to the other sense—observing only, of the multitude of passages in which πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα (=δαιμόνια) are mentioned, that the specification ἀκάθαρτα contra-distinguishes them from another sort—we may refer to S. John iv. 24; Acts xxiii. 9; S. Luke xxiv. 37, 39; Acts vii. 59. Add, 1 Thess. v. 23.

On the whole, as to the name of "the god of the Aryans," Auramazdà, our conclusion is, that in signification it is nearly an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Maha Atma;* a term by which the Supreme Being is described in a Hindu theology, of ancient date but apparently more recent than the Vaidik hymns; though in one of these we find the sun hyperbolically extolled, as the soul of all that moves or is fixed.[e] If so, Auramazda means "great soul" or "great spirit."

[e] In the introduction to his translation of (the first *Ashtaka* of) the *Rig-veda Sanhitá* p. xxxix, the late Professor H. H. Wilson writes, "We thus find that most if not all the deities whom the hymns of the Rich (as far as those of the first Ashtaka extend) are resolvable into three—Agni or fire; Indra or the firmament; and the Sun: or indeed (as the Sun is only a manifestation of fire) we might resolve all the forms into two Agni and Indra.

We may, however, consent to take the assertion of *Yáska* that there are in the Veda, "three gods; *Agni* on the earth, *Váyu* [the Wind] or *Indra* in the sky [he seems to mean "the middle region" which is also called the firmament] and *Súriya* [the Sun] in heaven; of each of which there are many appellations expressive of his greatness and of the variety of his functions."

"There is nothing, however," proceeds H. H. Wilson, "confining our negation to the present portion of the Rich, to warrant the other assertion of Yáska, that 'all the gods are but parts of One *átmá* or Soul, subservient to the diversification of his praises, through the immensity and variety of his attributes.' *Nirukta* [a glossary and comment illustrative of the texts of the Vedas] Daivata Kánda, i. 4. 3.

"The *Anukramaniká* [or Index which accompanies each Veda; see before p. viii.] goes further and affirms, There is but one Deity, the great Soul (Mahán Atmá): quoting, however, in support of this doctrine a passage which in its proper place [in a hymn to Súriya or the Sun, the 115th of the first Ashtaka of the Rig-veda collection, p. 304] applies only to the Sun, who is there called the Soul [atmá] of all that moves or is immoveable.'"

The Professor throughout this passage appears to have in view Colebroke's Summary of the contents of the Vedas, in the eighth vol. of the *Asiatic Researches;* to judge from citations of Colebroke pp. 387, 395–397 made by Mountstuart Elphinstone *Hist. of India*, 1857, p. 37; and by a writer in the R. A. S.'s Journal vol. xiii. p. 78. In his Rig-veda Sanhitá (first Ashtaka) p. 159, in a note on stanza 6 hymn 59, Wilson tells us that Vaidik theogony resolves all the divinities into three, Fire, Air and the Sun, and these three again, into One or the Sun. His reference is *Nirukta* 7. 4; a glossary and comment on the texts of the Vedas already quoted.

The first word in the compound, the substantive part of it, *aura*, in Zend writings becomes *Ahura*. This form, however, indicates no change of pronunciation, if it be true, as Rawlinson asserts, that the cuneiform vowel expressed by our *u* has generally an aspiration inherent in it, besides the vowel sound of *u*.[f] But as Homa in Zend, is that Sanskrit name of the moon-god and moon-plant Soma, in like manner, Ahura of the Zend represents the Sanskrit Asura. Wherefore the learned Frenchman, the late M. Burnouf (deriving Asura from the Sanskrit Asu, "life") renders Ahura, "a living one."[g] But the Asuras in later Hindu mythology are the enemies of the Hindu gods, or Devas. And in the Vaidik hymns, the name is a designation of such enemies, very frequently supplied by the glosses of the Scholiast. Indeed, speaking here only of the first Ashtaka of the Rig-veda collection of hymns, we have found it once in the text in a passage of a hymn to Indra, where the god is praised as "the warrior," and described as "destroying the well-built dwellings of the Asuras."[h] Now, this constant war of Indra, and antagonism of the Devas, with the Asuras, seems good evidence of the reality of a most ancient split in the Aryan race, between the ancestors of Darius's Persians and those of the contemporary Hindus; an international relation in which there existed differences not only in dialect and religious nomenclature, but, in attachment to and dislike of particular supernatural personages, in doctrines and in the ceremonies of worship. We may add a difference in social customs. For instance, the Asura marriage which (like a Mongol or like a Khond marriage now) was a purchase of the wife from her father or guardians, is condemned by the Laws of Manu.[i] All these differences

[f] Journal R. A. S. vol. x. pp. 69, 75–77, 184.

[g] Yaçna, pp. 77–82.

[h] Professor H. H. Wilson's *Rig-Veda Sanhitá* (first *Ashtaka)* hymn 55, stanza 6.

[i] Of the eight sorts of marriage discussed in Manu iii. 20–42 the Asura marriage is defined in stanza 31. For Mongol and Khond marriages, see Hue's *Souvenirs d'un voyage* &c. tom. i. p. 311 and Macpherson, Journal R. A. S. vol. xiii. p. 271. Between the two the great difference

would exasperate disputes, stimulate ambition or covetousness, and make hostilities more frequent. The Aryans from whom the Persians descended, appear to have designated Asuras, the same class of beings which the Aryan ancestors of the Hindus called Devas. If so, he whom the Perso-Aryans called Auramazdà, the great Asura, the great living one, or the great spirit, might have been denominated Mahà-Deva, the great Deva, the great god, by the Hindus; who, in the times of Pauranic religion and literature, gave that epithet to their impure and malignant Siva. However, in the days of Darius son of Hystaspes the Persians called the super-human objects of their greater or less veneration and worship, not Asuras but Bagas; and, as the Behistun inscription proves, they had still the term *Diva*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *Deva*. So that, to take for example Darius's Alwand inscription; looking at the first line of it, "Baga wazarka Auramazdà,"[j] we may regard the first two words as an interpretation in more familiar speech, of the antique

is, that on separation of the pair the price of the wife must be restored by her tribe, among the Khonds, but is kept by her family among the Mongols. Separations seem to originate in desertion by the wife among the Khonds, but among the Mongols with the husband, who sends her back to her family, saying, that he has no further need of her.

We may here venture to suggest that the legendary war of Ktesias, between the Assyrians in the days of Ninus and the Baktrians, may have been the perversion of a tradition of war between the Asuras, a race of Aryan invaders, and the Zoroastrians who previously possessed the land watered by the Oxus and the Jaxartes. These non-Aryan tribes may have been the *Rákshasas* (Manu i. 37, iii. 21) and the *Yakshas* (Manu i. 37, xii. 47) of the Hindus. The Jaxartes is called by Herodotus (i. 201) Araxes *(Arakhshas)*. For the war between the Assyrian Ninus and the Baktrian Zoroaster, see Diod. ii. 4–7. The name of the Baktrian king in the MSS of Diodorus, though variously written Oxyartes, Exaortes and ὁ Ζαόστης, seems to have been Zoroaster in his author Ktesias, concluding from Arnobius's citations, *contra Gentes* i. 5, 52 and comparing Justin i. 2. According to Josephus (Antiq. i. 6) Gather son of Aram, son of Shem, son of Noah, first settled in Baktria.

[j] Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 285. Can *Baga* (whence the modern *Bey* or *Beg)* be identical with the Sanscrit *Megha*, "a cloud." Vritra, the enemy of Indra, is called, "the first-born of the clouds," and simply "the cloud;" *Rig-veda Sanhita* hymn 32; see Wilson's note on St. 5.

designation which follows ; an interpretation, possibly hardly less needful for the Persians and Medes than the translations of it certainly were for the Kissian and Assyrian populations.

A like remark might be made on the words which commence one of the two Aryan inscriptions that (together with one Kissian inscription and one Assyrian, not as usual translations but independent compositions) are found on a slab in the south wall of the great platform at Persepolis. They are these words, "Auramazdà wazarka hya mathishta Bagànàm."[k]

It is affirmed[l] that, though Asura in the later Sanskrit was always applied in an evil sense to the "dæmons" or

[k] Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 273. In the other Aryan inscription, which contains the second extant cuneiform-written list of Darius's provinces (that in the Bisitun or Behistun inscription being the first, and that in the tomb inscription at Naksh-i-Rustam the last) there occurs in line 24, the word *Aurá* (ending in long *a*) which from the structure of the sentence appears to have been predicable of another term *Shiyátish*. What the signification of *Shiyátish* may be, is controverted. It occurs elsewhere only in the preamble which sets forth, in many of the inscriptions, the dealings of Auramazdá, and there it is a something of man's which Auramazdá the creator of man has especially given. Rawlinson takes *aurá*, ending with *a* long, to be a derivative from *aura*, ending in *a* short; and taking this last, as Burnouf explains it from the Sanskrit, to mean "a living one," he regards the other as the abstract noun with attributive suffix in *a* long; and so, to signify "vitality." He, therefore, conjectures that *Shiyátish* means "life." The word is only repeated in the Kissian versions, but in the Assyrian version of Darius's tomb-inscription, according to Mr H. Fox Talbot (Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. p. 264) it is translated by the word *tuki;* and this he is led by the context to translate like the Greek τύχη, "fortuna cujusque," lot, fortune, or destiny. This translation we preferred above. But now we ask, May not *Shiyátish* be of kin to *Shiva*, which in Sanskrit, besides being the name of a Hindu deity, signifies "the pure soul, of divine emanation; the vivifying, actuating and sustaining principle in animated beings;" as distinguished from *Jíva*, which means "life, the vital breath." See Molesworth's Maráthi Dictionary (Bombay 1831) pp. 388, 1003. Compare S. Paul 1 Thess. v. 23.

[l] By Professor Lassen of Bonn, in the *Zeitschrift* p. 16, cited by Sir H. C. Rawlinson in Journal R. A. S. vol. xi p. 67. Lassen is said to quote as his authority, the *Nairukta-Cubda-Sangraha*. But is not this a commentary only on the Vaidic texts?

" enemies of the gods," still, it is preserved in the Vedas as an epithet of Brahma. With Brahma, then, of the Hindus the Persian Auramazdà may be compared. Indra is but a vulgar thunderer. And yet an idea of him, which may have been a popular notion of Auramazdà, is expressed in the Vaidik hymn which says, Indra comprehended all things (within him) as the circumference comprehends the spokes of a wheel.[m]

But the appellation Auramazdà, as we have ventured to interpret it, is very suitable to that Creator of heaven and earth and man, who was understood by Darius son of Hystaspes and the kings his descendants to be the person so named. Herodotus and Strabo have materialized the Great Spirit, when the first tells us that the Persians call Zeus (that is to say, mean by Auramazdà) " the whole compass of the sky," and the other echoes him, affirming that " the Persians held the sky to be Zeus." [n]

This construction of the Persian faith may be well illustrated by a misrepresentation which Strabo has transmitted,[o] of the doctrine concerning our God held by the Church before the coming of God's Messiah. Strabo, or the Greek authority he followed in the matter, relates that Moses taught the Church in the wilderness " that the Egyptians and Libyans did not think aright in likening the deity to wild beasts, or to beasts of men's pastures; nor the Greeks either, in figuring deities of human shape; for that this one thing only was God—that which surrounds us all, and earth and sea along with us; what we call heaven and universe and the nature of the things that be."

After the Jews became a subject and scattered people, when they were obliged to speak of our God to their

[m] *Rig-Veda Sanhitá* hymn 32, at the end of the last stanza. Indra and his enemy Vritra may have been kings or chiefs of the rival Aryan sections. Accordingly, we are told that Paurânik writers make Vritra an Asura or chief of the Asuras; see Wilson's note on the first stanza.

[n] Herod. i. 131. Strabo xv. 3 § 13. As to the Greek name Ζεύς, and the Latin *Ju* in Jupiter, observe *Dyu* (whence *Dyu-loka)* is Heaven as a person, in Sanskrit. See *Rig-Veda Sanhitá*, hymn 89 st. 4, with Wilson's note on the last stanza of hymn 94.

[o] Strabo xvi. 2 § 35.

Chaldæan, their Mede or Persian, their Greek and Roman masters, we find them no longer freely employing the name Jehovah which He had given of Himself to their fathers. Like such descriptions of Him as, Who brought us out of Egypt, Who gave us the land of Canaan, intended for them, as His peculiar people, to remind them of His past and to assure them of His future faithfulness, that Name might have conveyed but an erroneous notion of the Only God to the now dominant heathen, if it had been communicated. They were now reserved on the subject of the special favours—once their boast—that they had received in ages past, and of His subsisting promises, the fulfilment of which they yet hoped for. They spoke rather of their sins, which had provoked His anger and produced their present low estate. The custom of their fathers had been different. Of yore, when a son, Isaac, was as yet the only earnest which our God had given of His promise to Abraham the Hebrew, we find this earthly figure of the Father of them that are Christ's, a stranger in the land of Canaan, desiring for Isaac a wife of his own country and kindred. He requires his eldest servant of his house to bring him such a daughter from Haran the city of Nahor his brother in Mesopotamia. He makes that ruler over all that he had, to swear punctual execution of his bidding, by the God at Whose command he had come into this strange land, naming Him "Jehovah, God of the heavens and God of the earth:" and again, when he would overcome the servant's hesitation, we find him promising that "Jehovah, God of the heavens," would send an angel before the man. Thus spoke Abraham to a servant who reverenced the God of his master, when as yet it was but a promise that the seed of Isaac should become a nation and possess the land in which their ancestor now lived a stranger.

Again, when this promise had been for centuries fulfilled, and now the nation was divided under two kings, one seated at Jerusalem, the other at Samaria, and when he of the house of Jehu who filled the throne in Samaria regarded the monarch then reigning at Nineveh the

Great, as a protector against the neighbouring king of Damascus, rather than a predecessor of one by whom Samaria would be taken and its people carried into captivity—we find another case of a phraseology, used by the children of Abraham, of Isaac and of Israel, wherein, when they were yet independent, they had been wont to combine the special name of our God, given them by Himself, with that definition of His supremacy over all elsewhere called gods, by which He was properly described to those who might otherwise suppose Him to be no higher or greater than the god or gods most esteemed by themselves. We find Jonah, a prophet of one of the Israelite tribes subject to the throne at Samaria, seeking by a flight to Tarshish, to escape a duty imposed upon him by the Word of Jehovah, to go to Nineveh and cry against it, that within forty days for its wickedness it should be destroyed. The fugitive put to sea from Joppa. A storm which ensued, threatened the destruction of the ship; and while the mariners (in part at least Phœnician and none of them Israelites) had been crying every man to his gods, and throwing the freight over-board to lighten the vessel, Jonah was found to have been sleeping below. Then, they cast lots to know for whose cause the evil had befallen them, and the lot fell upon Jonah. So he confessed himself a Hebrew and one who feared "Jehovah, God of the heavens, Maker of both sea and land." He had before been bid to call upon his gods as each of them had done on theirs; but now he informed them that he was flying from the presence of Jehovah; so it seemed the storm which had overtaken them was from Jehovah. Indeed he told them that it was so, and if they threw him into the sea, the raging element would stand still. In vain did the oarsmen toil to regain the land. At last, after a prayer, very unlike that of the Jews before Pilate who rejected their Messiah when He was come, and desired that the guilt of His Blood, which they required the Roman magistrate to shed, might rest upon themselves and on their children, after a prayer to Jehovah that they might not perish on Jonah's account; and that Jehovah would

not lay the guilt of innocent blood upon them, they cast forth the prophet into the sea, and immediately the raging of the waters ceased.

Here was a case in which "the God of the heavens" who had chosen the Hebrews, the children of Israel, to be His peculiar people upon the earth, was spoken of by an Israelite to men of another nation, under their name for Him, as well as by His description. But the Israelite was a Prophet; and by many at least of the men he spoke to, the Name was known and feared already. Be it noted that the God of Israel was magnified by the communication, and that by the figurative death and resurrection of Jonah, his company, the Gentile crew, were saved.[p]

After Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Chaldæans, as Samaria nearly a hundred and twenty years before had fallen into the hands of the Assyrians, we find the captive Daniel at Babylon speaking of Jehovah, not by that name, except in the Hebrew portion of his book, but to general readers only by the description which we have seen appended to it by Abraham in speech with a believing servant, and by Jonah to the terrified Phœnician sailors. To the readers of the Aramaic portion of his book, the prophet describes our God as "the God of the heavens." To Nebukhadrezzar his master he announces Him thus; "There is a God in the Heavens That revealeth secrets." He adds; "Thou, O king, art a king of kings, for the God of the heavens hath given thee a kingdom, power and strength and glory." Explaining a dream of the king's, he tells him that after four kingdoms should have been successively pre-eminent, of which king Nebukhad-

p See Genes. xxiv. 3, 7. Jonah i. 9. Another instance of this description of the God of Abraham *'Elohëi hash-Shamayim*, "the God of the heavens," as used in old time among the children of Israel, may be said to occur in the 136th Psalm, a call to thanksgiving which, from its contents, might seem to have been composed before the death of Moses. This Psalm having commenced with bidding Give thanks to Jehovah, Give thanks to the God of the gods, Give thanks to the Lord of the lords; and having then recounted His mercies to Israel, concludes by bidding, Give thanks to *'El hash-Shamayim*, "the God of the heavens."

rezzar's was the first, "the God of the heavens would set up a kingdom which should never be destroyed." He calls this God of the heavens withal, "the great God." As an illustration we would add, that the prophet has preserved us a writing of Nebukhadrezzar's addressed "to all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth." It is in Aramaic, written in one of the last years of the king's reign, and gives an account of the signs and wonders that of late "the High God" had wrought toward him. Here, the king recites a denunciation he had heard in a dream, made against a mighty tree by a Watcher and a Holy One from heaven, which was to be executed "that the living might know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will." He tells us, how Daniel interpreted the dream, and how it came to pass with him accordingly. He ends with an account of how, when the days of judgment upon him were past, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, his understanding returned to him, and he blessed "the Most High;" and he praised and honoured "Him That liveth for ever; Whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom from generation to generation;" Who "doeth according to His will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay His hand or say unto Him, What doest Thou?" With the king's reason, his majesty also was restored to him, of which for seven years he had been deprived; and he ends his proclamation thus; "Now, I Nebukhadrezzar praise and extol and honour the *King of the heavens*, all Whose works are truth and His ways judgement; and those that walk in pride He is able to abase."

To king Belshazzar, likewise, the son or grandson of Nebukhadrezzar, Daniel speaking of the "Most High God," calls Him also "*the Lord of the heavens*" and "the God in Whose hand was the life of the king and all the king's ways." Like the former, these citations are from the Aramaic portion of the Prophet's book.[q]

[q] Daniel ii. 18, 19, 28, 37, 44, 45; iv. 2, 17, 24, 25, 32–34, 37. v. 18, 21, 23.

From Ezra's recital in Hebrew of the proclamation of king Cyrus the Persian to the Jews, made in the first year of his reign at Babylon, B. C. 536, we learn that the name of Jehovah had been communicated to that king; for, like Jonah, like Abraham, and (as we shall see) like Nehemiah, he uses it, and immediately explains it by adding; "the God of the heavens." He says; "Jehovah the *God of the heavens* hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and He hath charged me to build Him a house at Jerusalem which is in Judah."

Under Darius son of Hystaspes, in a portion of Ezra's book written in Aramaic, we find the king's officers reporting to their lord an explanation received by them from the Jews who were still engaged in building the house at Jerusalem. The king's governor beyond the river (that is, of the country west of the Euphrates) with other officials had gone into the province of Judæa to the house of "the great God;" they found the timber laid in the walls, and the work fast advancing; and they asked the elders of the people, By whose command they built that house and made up those walls? In their answer, the chief of the people (whose names were taken down to be reported to the king) described themselves as the "servants of the God of the heavens and the earth;" and in relating the history of the house they were re-building, they said that "after their fathers had provoked the *God of the heavens* unto wrath, He gave them into the hand of Nebukhadrezzar king of Babylon the Chaldæan, who destroyed the house, and carried the people away into Babylon." Again, in the favourable reply of king Darius, which is part of the same Aramaic narrative, besides an order to his officers to leave the builders unhindered, we find a further decree, "that their expenses be defrayed out of the king's tributes accruing beyond (that is, west of) the Euphrates; and that which they had need of, young bullocks, rams, and lambs, for the burnt-offering of the *God of the heavens;* also, wheat, salt, wine and oil, according to the appointment of the priests that are at Jerusalem, let it be given them day by day without fail; that they may offer sacrifices of Rest[r] unto the God of the heavens, and

[r] For "sweet savours" the margin of the English Vulgate has "rest."

pray for the life of the king and of his sons." Here (let us note it by the way) we have an allusion to the three sons that the daughter of Gobryas bore to Darius before his accession; and we have a proof that Darius cared little for the Magian maxim which made the burnt-offering of slain beasts a profanation. But our purpose, in giving this extract, is to show that, in it, He Whom the king's officers in their report had called the great God, is by Darius in his answer twice designated (as the builders of His house themselves called Him) "the God of the heavens."

Under Artaxerxes the grandson of Darius son of Hystaspes, the writer of the book we are citing, went up from the king's court at Babylon to Jerusalem, in the seventh year of the king. He carried royal letters, one to himself, others addressed to the king's lieutenants and governors west of the Euphrates.[s] The letter and commission to Ezra himself is handed down to us. It is in Aramaic, and thus addressed; "Artaxerxes king of kings unto Ezra the priest, a perfect scribe of the law of the God of the heavens."[t] Of the letter itself a few other points are to our purpose. It notifies to Ezra; "Thou art sent from before the king and his seven counsellors, to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which is in thine hand, and to carry the silver and gold which the king and his counsellors have freely offered, to the God of Israel Whose habitation is in

[s] These letters to the king's lieutenants and governors throughout Syria, may have contained no more than that part of the letter to Ezra himself which is a command to the Treasurers west of the Euphrates, viz. Ezra vii. 21–24. But the walls of Jerusalem appear to have been at this time ordered to be rebuilt. Ezra left Babylon, 1 Nisan B. C. 458, and the seventy weeks of years determined upon the Jews and upon their holy city (Dan. ix. 24) appear to have commenced with the ensuing Jewish Civil year on the first day of Tisri (say 1 Oct.) following. See above p. 150 note P; and remark that the regnal years of Artaxerxes by the Assyrian calendar (which Nehemiah appears to follow) began not at Nisan, but probably (as we shall see) on the first of Markhesvan, say 1 Nov.

[t] So the margin of the English Vulgate.

Jerusalem." Thus, the God of heaven is owned to be the "God of Israel," the God of a people of whom the letter says, "I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel and of His priests and Levites in my realm which are minded of their own free will to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee." One paragraph is an order upon the king's treasurers, as follows; "And I, even I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatever Ezra the priest the scribe of the God of the heavens shall require of you, it be done speedily; unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred cors of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil, and salt (without prescribing how much). Whatsoever is commanded by the God of the heavens, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of the heavens: for why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons? Also we certify you that, touching any of the priests and Levites, singers, porters, Nethinim, or ministers of the house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose toll, tribute, or custom upon them." [u]

In the twentieth year of the same king Artaxerxes, his cup-bearer Nehemiah an Israelite tells his readers, in a Hebrew book which has no Aramaic documents inserted in it, that news had come to him at Shushan the palace, of the affliction of the people at Jerusalem, how the city wall (the rebuilding of which appears to have been ordered at about the date of Ezra's commission) was broken down, and the gates thereof burnt with fire; wherefore, with weeping and mourning, he fasted and prayed before the God of the heavens. His prayer, which he recites, began thus; "I beseech Thee, Jehovah, God of the heavens, the Great and Terrible God, That keepeth covenant and mercy for them that love Him and observe His commandments." [v] Here, the book being in Hebrew, and its contents intended only for Israelite readers, Nehemiah reports the terms of his prayer exactly, and it is observable that although he

[u] Ezra i. 2, v. 8–12, vi. 8, 9, vii. 12–15, 21–24.
[v] Neh. i. 4, 5.

invokes our God by the name of Jehovah, he subjoins the appellation which he had elsewhere used in speaking not to Him, but of Him. Thus we perceive that a description rarely used in old time, was now the most common. Among themselves as well as to others, the Jews called our God "the God of the heavens."

The Jewish books which are found, besides the translations of their sacred writings, in the Septuagint, might also be cited to show that under the reign of the Greeks the God of Israel was still called the God of heaven, and simply Heaven.[w] But we content ourselves with pointing out, first, that, in the letter already quoted of king Nebukhadrezzar, there are words of Daniel's recited by the king in which the expression, "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men" is varied by the equivalent, "the Heavens do rule."[x] Next, we refer to a time when, though the empire was Roman, the Greeks in language, thought, and customs, still predominated between the Adriatic and the Euphrates; and we find in the gospels concerning our Lord, the Messiah Jesus, instances of the same manner of speech among the Jews, that is to say, in the ancient Church. The returning prodigal our Lord once spoke of, says, "Father, I have sinned toward the

[w] We may cite 1 Macc. iii. 18 where the Alex. MS. has ἐναντίον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, "before the heaven," though the Vatican ed. has ἐναντίον τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, "before the God of the sky." Here Schleusner compares verse 60, ὡς δ' ἂν ᾖ θέλημα ἐν οὐρανῷ οὕτω ποιήσει. In 1 Macc. iv. 10 we have καὶ νῦν βοήσωμεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἴπως ἐλεήσει ἡμᾶς, "and now let us shout unto the heaven, if peradventure He will pity us." In 2 Macc. vii. 10 one of the seven brethren who with their mother were being tortured to death by the Syro-Macedonian Antiochus Epiphanes in B. C. 170 or later, for refusing to violate the law of God, when he in turn was commanded to hold out his hands that they might be chopped off, stretched them cheerily forth and said nobly, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ταῦτα κέκτημαι . . καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐλπίζω κομίσασθαι, "From heaven I have them . . . . and from Him I hope to receive them again." Compare 1 Macc. ix. 46, xii. 15, xvi. 3; 2 Macc. iii. 15, viii. 20, ix. 20, xv. 8. For the appellation "God of the heavens" unabridged to "the heavens" or "the heaven" and found in an apocryphal Jewish book, see Tobit x. 12, 13 where we have both ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ and ὁ Κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

[x] Dan. iv. 25, 26.

Heaven and before thee:" and when, at His last visit to Jerusalem, it was demanded of our Lord by the unbelieving chief priests and elders of Israel in the temple, by what authority or commission He acted, our Lord answered with a reference to His fore-runner, whose appearance some four years before had made a profound impression upon the Church, The baptism of John, said He, was it from Heaven or of men? On these two occasions we have a use of the term "heaven" which may be well explained by the warning of the same Anointed One, that "he who swears by the heaven, swears by the throne of God and by Him Who sitteth thereon." [y] To these notices we will only add, that a term used upwards of thirty times in S. Matthew's Gospel, "the kingdom of the heavens" is replaced in about seventy texts of the New Testament (including five in S. Matthew's Gospel itself) by another more precise term "the kingdom of God." Especially is the latter term used, in parallel passages, instead of the former, by S. Mark and S. Luke; by the latter in more than thirty places of his Gospel; by S. Mark in about fifteen places.

Thus, in saying "Heaven" for the "God of heaven," the Jews used the same figure of speech which we employ when we say "the throne" or "the crown," meaning the person whose seat is the throne, the person who wears the crown. But Strabo, as the passage above-cited shews, or the Greek authority from whom he borrowed, misunderstood the matter; running away with a notion as to the Jewish faith, which the most illiterate of the nation would have repudiated, knowing that the prophet had written, "Thus saith Jehovah, The heaven is My throne and the earth is My footstool;" [z] and that their king Solomon, the original builder of the temple, had confessed before God when the work was completed (what he had formerly explained when he asked aid of Hiram king of Tyre) "Heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain

[y] See S. Luke xv. 18, 21; S. Matt. xxi. 25 and xxiii. 22.
[z] Isai. lxvi. 1, quoted Acts vii. 49.

Thee; how much less this house which I have built!" [a] A similar mistake to that of the Greeks as to the notion of heaven entertained by the Jews, might have been suggested by the language which the Jews used of the temple at Jerusalem. This, too, might have been taken for the Object of their worship.

The same figure of speech which the Jews employed in their use of the word heaven, may have been popularly used among the Persians, in respect of Auramazdà, and may have misled Herodotus and Strabo. In the ancient religion of China, as it is displayed in their *Shoo-king* ("sacred book") otherwise called *Shang-shoo* ("supreme book") we find *Teen*, "heaven," made synonymous with *Te*, "Lord," or "Emperor," and *Shang-te*, "supreme emperor" or "supreme lord." It would seem that *Te* is a title superior to one with which the emperors of China were long contented, *Wang*, "king." Accordingly, the only earthly power designated *Te*, is the sovereign of all the provinces and districts, formerly kingdoms, in China. The figure of speech by which heaven signifies God, explains other titles which we find of God in the *Shoo-king;* as *Shang-teen*, "supreme heaven," and *Hoang-teen*, "august heaven." [b]

That title, therefore, in China of the earthly *Te* or earthly king of kings, "the Son of heaven," *(Teen-tse)* means "Son of God:" and it is plain that the religious chief of the now nearly extinct rebellion in China, when he styled himself "younger brother of Jesus Christ" intended, as a believer in the Son of God, the Lord Jesus, though an ill-taught and self-baptized one, to abate somewhat from the pretensions of an emperor of China. He conceived that to call himself "Son of heaven," would be anti-Christian. The idea which an emperor of China is taught to conceive of himself, appears in a prayer for rain written and offered by the emperor Tao-kwang. It is

[a] 2 Chron. ii. 6, vi. 18; 1 Kings viii. 27.

[b] For the *Shoo-king* (for French readers written *Chou-king*) see the Père Gaubil's translation revised, in G. Pauthier's *Livres sacr s de l' Orient*, published at Paris by Firmin Didot.

addressed to "Imperial heaven," and the suppliant calls himself "the humble servant of heaven, appointed to rule mankind, and responsible for keeping the world in order, and the people in comfort."[c]

V.

If the ceremony at sunrise, misunderstood (as we have supposed) and imperfectly described by Herodotus, was really a solemn recognition of Darius's claim to be king—whereat, five or six days after the slaughter of Gaumáta and his principal adherents, Darius's own faithful Six, or those of them that were unwounded, continued perhaps to be the nearest to his person, though they were not his only homagers—we may be apt to suppose it conducted not at Siktakhotish but at a not distant city, unmatched as yet in the united kingdom of the Persians and the Medes, the capital of the latter people, where he would certainly desire to show himself and to establish his authority as soon as possible. This (as, in his own inscription at Bisitun or Behistun, the name is written in Aryan) was *Hagamatana*, now Hamadan, the Agbatana or Ekbatana of Greek writers.[a] Here he would be pro-

[c] See Milne's *Life in China* p. 228.

[a] See the Beh. Inscription col. 2, para. 13. For the Aryan, Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 223 &c. and note appended to vol. xii. pp. iii, iv. The name, according to Mr Edwin Norris's decipherment, was written in Kissian *Akvatana* or *Akmatana*, there being but one Kissian letter for both *m* and *v*; see Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. pp. 17, 113, and pp. 28, 56. In Assyrian, according to Sir H. C. Rawlinson's decipherment, it is either *Hagamatánu* or *Agamatánu*; see Journal R. A. S. vol. xiv. p. 6 and the Inscription, sheet No. 9. Of Greek writers, Ktesias no less than Herodotus wrote *Agbatana*, as Stephen of Byzantium asserts, though those who have cited Ktesias (as Diodorus and Photius) have Ekbatana. We have already at pp. 58, 59 interpreted the name, "Fire-temple;" identifying the latter part of it with a term in an inscription at Susa, *apadána* in the Aryan and *abatana* in the Kissian, whereby Artaxerxes Mnemon designates the building to which the inscription was attached; and considering the former part of the name *Hag* or *Ag* as equivalent to the feminine substantive *ág* of the Hin-

claimed, in terms like those afterwards employed in the inscription, "Great king, king of kings, king of Persia, king of the countries," unless perhaps the title "king of Persia" was omitted, as in all the inscriptions of Darius (except the one at Bisitun) and in all those of Xerxes, though it is still applied in the book of the Israelite priest and scribe Ezra, not only to preceding kings but to the son of Xerxes under whom he lived himself.[b] To the proclamation of Darius as king, it was added, we may be assured, that by the favour of Auramazdá, he, son of Hystaspes and descended from Akhæmenes, had slain the liar who called himself Smerdis son of Cyrus, though in reality he was but Gaumáta the Magian. The boast may also have been hazarded, or it may have been claimed for him as a credit, that he had thus recovered all lordship ever possessed by his family or by the Persians and Medes before him. But whatever were the terms wherewith Darius was proclaimed their king, discontent was rife

dustani (Duncan Forbes's Dict. p. 36) and to signify "Fire." Thus, the compound *Ag-abatana* ("fire-temple") seems analogous to the term *annappatna* in the Kissian version of the Beh. inscription col. 1, line 47, which (as Mr E. Norris proves from the corresponding Assyrian, line 25) means "god-houses," and answers to an Aryan word deciphered *ayad(a)ná* and by Sir H. C. Rawlinson taken to be the accusative plural of a feminine theme in *a*; see Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 207; vol. xiv. p. lxxxi; vol. xv. pp. 102, 103, 164, 200.

[b] Ezra gives the title "king of Páras" (*i. e.* of Pársa, Persis or Fars) to Cyrus, to Smerdis (or rather Gaumáta) Artaxerxes, to Darius son of Hystaspes, and to the king under whom he lived himself, Artaxerxes Makrokheir. But the very same date which he himself calls "the first year of Cyrus king of (Páras, or) Persia," he records as styled by the Jews who were engaged in the rebuilding of their temple, when they had to satisfy the officers of Darius, "the first year of Cyrus king of Bábel (Babylon):" see Ezra i. 1, v. 13, vi. 3. In like manner, Nehemiah calls a date in the reign of Artaxerxes Makrokheir his master, the "two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes king of Bábel (Babylon);" Neh. xiii. 6. So, too, when through the favour of Darius son of Hystaspes they had finished the rebuilding of the temple, the people of Jerusalem rejoiced because "Jehovah had turned the heart of the king of Ashshur (Assyria) unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel:" Ezra vi. 22.

among the Medes, and shewed itself shortly afterwards, so soon as their new master was called away.

Meanwhile, Agbatana must have been the centre whence he sent his news and issued his orders to the provinces; as hence probably it was, that at first his couriers sped forth to proclaim his accession to the throne, with the explanatory circumstances that Bardiya or Smerdis son of Cyrus had been dead for the last five years, slain by his brother Cambyses; that he who for these eight months had reigned as Smerdis, was neither Persian nor Mede but a Magian impostor; so that, slain and replaced by Darius, he had now yielded back the kingdom to the family which had before possessed it, and the Aryan race was restored to its former dignity. No act of Gaumáta's (it is probable) was owned to be valid in any of the provinces. His general remission of three years' tribute and military service, was, therefore, null and void. His prohibitions, too, might be lawfully disregarded; as, for instance, the one which had caused the work of the house of our God to cease at Jerusalem.

But of all the acts of Gaumáta, the one which, as in his view the most important, Darius has alone commemorated, by the record of its reversal, was a change the Magian had made in the god-worship of the state, whereby (as it would appear) the Aryan character of it was abolished and the Magian ascendancy made complete, in order to his own more secure possession of the kingdom. All that Gaumáta had done in this matter, Darius reversed at once; in order (as his rock-inscribed declaration intimates) that, by the restoration of persons and practices to their former places and reverence, first his own family, next the Persians and Medes, lastly the other provinces, might likewise resume their former relative positions of power and dignity under his own sceptre.

The passage of his great trilingual inscription which describes this religious restoration by Darius, is unfortunately as yet untranslateable in most of its particulars, in the Aryan and Kissian inscriptions; while, in the Assyrian, though what is extant explains the term by

which one subject of the Magian innovation is denoted in the other versions, the rest of the important sentence is obliterated. It is certain, however, that there were "god-houses" or temples which had been shut up or demolished by the Magian, and were as soon as possible rebuilt or re-opened by Darius. It is also pretty clear, that the service of these shrines, including the chanting of hymns, had been the hereditary office and privilege of certain families whose functions were restored to them by Darius for the service of the (Aryan) state.

In the Persian, that is Perso-Median, religion, as described by Herodotus in the time of Darius's grandson, when the reformation of Magianism traditionally ascribed to Darius, if it ever took place, would have been long established, we find it stated, that without a Magian to assist or to direct, no sacrifice could be lawfully offered: and that (besides the prayer of the offerer made not for himself alone, but in the first place, according to a standing order, for the king and the Persian nation) after the victim had been cut up and laid out upon the layer of sacred grass, a Magian came forward and chanted over all a hymn, said to be a story of the birth of the god or gods.[c]

The Vaidik hymns are perhaps more like to those used in the services against which the measures of Gaumáta were directed; that is, if the sacerdotal families, who still officiated according to an inherited faith and ritual, in defiance of the Magian tribe or caste, belonged to the Aryan race. Many parcels of hymns are found in the Vaidik collections, which appear to have been originally the property of particular families, produced by learned ancestors, and used in preference to, or for lack of, others in successive generations.[d]

[c] θεογονίην, Herod. i. 132. It is a fact which to some may seem suspicious, that in several MSS the last section of chap. 130 with the whole of the following five chapters, save three brief clauses, is omitted.

[d] In his introduction to the Rig-Veda Sanhitá, Professor H. H. Wilson remarks, that in the arrangement of the Rig-Veda hymns by *Mandalas* or circles, six out of the ten comprise hymns by the same individual

Darius pretends no motive for his reversal of the Magian's changes, except the interest of his family and nation. It is quite possible, therefore, that at a later date, in the fulness of his power, as he reformed the revenue system, he may also have made important changes in the state worship, making more or less use of Magian subserviency in the matter, and perhaps ultimately effecting a compromise between the hereditary privileges of certain Aryan families and the pretensions of the Magi; who probably enjoyed the popular favour in Persis and Media, even among those of Aryan descent.

But—obscure as, even to the learned investigators of the Aryan and Kissian languages,[e] Darius's brief notice of Gaumáta's innovations seems yet to be—the fact is clear, that there were "god-houses" connected with the rites and hereditary functionaries of the nation that were assailed by the Magian. If these were idol-dwellings, image-houses inhabited by gods of metal, stone, or wood, such buildings were dis-allowed in the Persian religion as described by Herodotus; though the Magi then, as in the time of Strabo, may have had their temples where, carefully fed and guarded, a fire was (in Dinon's view) the image.

But a god-house, such as the Magi condemned, seems to have maintained its credit in the very core of the Persian nation, at Pasargadæ, whence (according to Pliny)

or by members of the same family; p. xvi. He says they were probably composed in many instances by the heads of families or schools following a similar form of worship and adoring in preference particular deifications; p. xvii. The hymns not unfrequently avow a difference of date, and we find some ascribed to ancient *Rishis*, while others admit their being of new or newest composition; p. xviii. There can be little doubt that the hymns were taught originally by word of mouth, and that the knowledge of them was perpetuated by the same mode of tuition; Ibid.

[e] We judge solely from vols. x. xiv. and xv. of the R. A. S.'s Journal, where Sir H. C. Rawlinson and Mr Edwin Norris treat the fourteenth paragraph of the first column of the Bisitun inscription, the first in its Aryan and Assyrian texts, the latter in the Kissian. The Aryan text is also reprinted in Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2. pp. 590–616 (an. 1858)

the Ekbatana of the Magi (or their fire-temple, as we understand the term) was removed by Darius son of Hystaspes. It was some six-score years after Gaumáta's reign, when Okhus Darius the Bastard was but lately dead, that the new king (before called Arsikas or Arsakes, but since his father had appointed him king, Artaxerxes) the Mnemon of the Greeks, rode forth for Pasargadæ, to be initiated king by the priests in Persis.[f] At that seat of the old Akhæmenian kings, there was a temple of a warlike goddess whom (said Plutarch's authority), one might likely take to be Athéna. Into this, the person under initiation must pass, there to lay aside his own dress and assume the one which the old Cyrus used to wear before he became king, that is (as we may understand the term) "Great King" or successor to Darius the Mede at Babylon. In this garb of the founder of the Persian supremacy, the new king was also, after a bite at a cake of figs, to eat up one of acorns, and drink off a cup of sour milk.[g] Whether (said the same witness) they do anything else besides this, is known only to themselves.

[f] ὅπως τελεσθείη τὴν βασιλικὴν τελετὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἱερέων.
Plutarch, Vit. Artaxerxis, cap. 3. Plutarch's authority seems to be Ktesias or Dinon. He frequently cites them for this Life by name. He seems to use the very words of his author when he proceeds

ἔστι δὲ θεᾶς πολεμικῆς ἱερόν.

[g] A penance equivalent to eating a bit of bread and cheese, and drinking a glass of small beer. We have made a school boy's "shot" at a translation of the Greek

καὶ σύκου παλάθης ἐμφαγόντα, τερμίνθου κατατραγεῖν, καὶ ποτήριον ἐκπιεῖν ὀξυγάλακτος.

In the Septuagint we have παλάθη, alone, for "a cake of figs," 1 Sam. xxv. 18; xxx. 12; 1 Chron. xii. 40; Judith x. 5, and παλάθη σύκων, 2 Kings xx. 7; παλάθη ἐκ σύκων, Isai. xxxviii. 21. Gesenius derives the word from the Syriac *dvaltá*, a form corresponding with the Hebrew *dvéláh*. We have substituted "acorns" for the fruit of the Terminth or Terebinth tree. As to this diet of the hardy Persian youth, we give the sequel of a passage, already cited (p. 272, note) in respect of the mental and vocal training of the boys of the Free Muster; Strabo xv. 3 § 18;

συνάγουσι δὲ εἰς ἕνα τόπον, ψόφῳ χαλκοῦ πρὸ ὄρθρου διεγείροντες, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξοπλισίαν ἢ θήραν· τάξαντες δὲ ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα ἡγεμόνα τῶν βασιλέως τινὰ παίδων αὐτοῖς ἢ σατράπου, τρέχοντι κελεύουσιν ἕπεσθαι, χωρίον ἀφορίσαντες τριάκοντα ἢ τετταράκοντα σταδίων. . . ἀσκοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς καῦμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς ψῦχος καὶ ὄμβρους καὶ χειμάρρων διαβάσεις, ὥστε ἄβροχα φυλάττειν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἐσθῆτα· καὶ ποιμαίνειν δὲ καὶ ἀγραυλεῖν καὶ καρποῖς ἀγρίοις χρῆσθαι, τερμίνθῳ, δρυοβαλάνοις, ἀχράδι· καλοῦνται δ' οὗτοι κάρδακες, ἀπὸ κλοπίας τετρόμενοι· κάρδα γὰρ τὸ ἀνδρῶδες καὶ πολεμικὸν λέγεται.

However, just as Artaxerxes was preparing for this performance, Tissaphernes came to him, bringing one of the priests who, in his younger brother Cyrus's boyhood having been made his master in the customary course of training, and having taught him the Magian art, was likely to be not less vexed than any man among the Persians when the younger son failed to be appointed his father Darius's successor on the throne. Credence, therefore, was given to any evidence against Cyrus, coming from such a person; and he charged his late pupil with intending to lie in wait in the temple, and after that the king should have put off his clothes, to set upon him and destroy him. It was this charge which, as some said, caused the arrest of Cyrus: but, according to others, the king's younger brother had already entered the temple, and was given up in his hiding-place by the priests. He would have been put to death, but the king yielded to the entreaties of their mother Parysatis, and sent him back to his government in Asia Minor, whence he soon returned with an army, to dethrone his brother and benefactor—with what results the famous narrative of Xenophon informs us, as well as Plutarch and his authorities.

It is observable, however, that even in this temple of a Persian war-goddess, which may well be supposed to have had its image of the divinity, the Magi appear to have ultimately obtained the control: perhaps by a fusion of the hereditary Aryan priesthood among themselves, for the *Magas*, says Professor Wilson,[h] are recognized in the

[h] See a *Lecture on the cultivation of Oriental literature*, Journal R. A. S. vol. xiii. p. 200. In Herodotus's list (Herod. i. 101) of the γένεα Μήδων, but perhaps tribes in Media rather than of Medes, the sixth and last enumerated are the Magi. The former five are Βουσαὶ, Παρητακηνοὶ, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζαντοὶ and Βούδιοι. That the Μάγοι were not of the blood of the Persians and Medes, that is, Aryan, seems clear from the Behistun inscription, paras 13 and 14 col. i. The fifth γένος too, the Βούδιοι, have been compared for their name with the Asiatic *Phut* of Hebrew Scripture and with one of a couple of ethnic names in Darius's tomb-list of subject nations or provinces *Putiyà* and *Kushiyà* (in the Assyrian *Buda Kusu)* which may be a pair often associated by the Hebrews, *Kush* and *Phut*. But the position of the Putiyá in Darius's list seems to connect them with his

Hindu Puránas as a caste of Brahmans, and the privileged priests of a celebrated temple of the Sun at Multán in the Panjàb: yet it seems certain, that those properly so called were not of Aryan race. As they thus directed the initiation of the new Akhæmenian king at Pasargadæ, after the death of the second Persian Darius in B. C. 404; so, at the arrival of Alexander the Macedonian in the end of B. C. 331 and on his return in the end of B. C. 326, we find the tomb of Cyrus committed to the guardianship and service of certain Magians, who were also described as the hereditary ministers and warders of the enshrined remains.[i] At last, under the Parthian rule apparently, they are mentioned as the people to which Pasurgadæ belonged, while the tribe (who perhaps received from it rather than gave their name to this first seat of the Persian people,) are found transplanted to the coast of Carmania, outside of the Persian gulf. This may have resulted from the Parthian conquest, under which Strabo tells us, Fars or Pársa suffered, even more than it had from the Macedonians.[j]

latest and most distant military expeditions, calling to mind the Βουδινοι of Herod. iv. 21, 108, 109: and the more, because they are followed by the Machchiyá (perhaps "Fish-eaters") who being in the Assyrian *Issidu* (see Mr H. Fox Talbot's translation, Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. p. 267) recall the Ἰσσηδόνες of Herod. i. 201; iv. 3, 25–27, 32.

[i] See above pp. 258–261.

[j] Strabo xv. 3 § 3. For the rest, see Pliny, N. H. vi. 26 and Marcian's Periplus cited above p. 62, note. The tribes inhabiting Persis which Strabo enumerates (xv. 3 § 1) are

οἵ τε Παπεισχοφεῖς λεγόμενοι καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιμενίδαι καὶ [οἱ] Μάγοι· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν σεμνοῦ τινός εἰσι βίου ζηλωταί· Κύρτιοι δὲ καὶ Μάρδοι, λῃστρικοί· ἄλλοι δὲ γεωργικοί.

It is remarkable here that the Magi have acquired themselves a place among Strabo's φῦλα of Persis, as they had before among Herodotus's γένεα Μήδων. Herodotus's three leading tribes have disappeared, the Pasargadæ, the Maraphii and the Maspii of whom the Pasargadæ were the chief, ἄριστοι, but Strabo's second name, the *Akhæmenidæ*, we know from Herodotus (i. 125) were a branch of the Pasargadæ,

φρήτρη ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσείδαι γεγόνασι.

Strabo's first name (written Πατισχοφεῖς in some MSS) appears to be also a branch of one of Herodotus's leading tribes, or γένεα, of Persians: for on the sepulchre of our Darius at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, over the highest figure to the left of the king, on a level with and immediately to the

In regard of Darius's dealing with the Magian changes in state ceremonies of religion and as to persons and places therewith connected, his motive was as we have noted it, the then present interest of his family and nation. But it was his policy to tolerate and respect religious usages everywhere. This disposition (as we shall see) soon concurred with his avowed determination to carry out the decrees of Cyrus, when he sanctioned the rebuilding of the temple of our God by the Jews at Jerusalem. Subsequently, when revolted Babylon (as we shall also see) after a long siege was captured by his forces, though he dismantled the city and inflicted severe punishment on the people, he yet suffered the temple of Belus (Merodakh) to stand and to keep its images, though their value as plunder was immense.[k] His conduct in the administration of Egypt was the same. The principal part of the large temple at El Khargeh in the great Oasis was built by him, and bears his ovals with the same honorary titles which (as Diodorus tells us) were bestowed upon the ancient sovereigns of the country. He is the only Persian king whose phonetic

left of the lower portion of the Kissian transcript of the Upper tomb-inscription (so I understand Sir H. C. Rawlinson's description in note appended to vol. xii. of Journal R. A. S.) is a legend thus deciphered; *Gubaruwa Pátish 'uwarish Dárayawahush Khsháyathiyahyá sharastibara;* rendered, "Gobryas the Patiskhorian, king Darius's bow-bearer." Thus it seems, as Sir H. C. Rawlinson points out, that this Gobryas (and probably, the father-in-law and fellow-conspirator of Darius), belonged to a family or clan which had become a tribe, or whose name had supplanted that of its tribe in the time of the author followed by Strabo. The geographer's agricultural Persians answer to Herodotus's three soil-tilling tribes, the Panthialæi, Derûsiæi and Germanii, but the latter of these may be his Carmanian nation. His predatory Mardi are mentioned by Herodotus as one of four pasturing tribes; and his predatory Κύρτιοι may possibly be another of the historian's pasturing tribes, the Σαγάρτιοι, though Strabo xi. 13 § 3 mentions other robber and migratory Κύρτιοι (as well as other Mardi) in the northern parts of Media Atropaténé and also in Armenia; leading us to identify them in race with the present "Kurds." The name Σαγάρτιοι does not occur in Strabo.

[k] Herod. i. 183; iii. 159.

name is accompanied by a *prenomen*, like those of the ancient Pharaohs.[l]

The empire, which Cambyses the conqueror of Egypt had lost, and of which the son of Hystaspes now was proclaimed the king, contained (as the new sovereign's earliest enumeration tells us) three and twenty lesser kingdoms or provinces. Subjoined is a statement of the names derived from the Bisitún inscription, as given in Aryan and Assyrian by Sir H. C. Rawlinson and in Kissian by Mr Edwin Norris.[m] To this threefold list we have added the corresponding Greek names as furnished by Herodotus or (in his default) by later historians.

In Aryan the names of provinces are these; 1. Pársa. 2. 'Uwaja [Khoja.] 3. Bábirush. 4. Athurà. 5. Arabáya. 6. Mudráya. 7. "The sea-coast." 8. Sparda. 9. Yuna. 10. Máda. 11. Armina. 12. Katapatuka. 13. Parthwa. 14. Zaraka. 15. Hariwa. 16. 'Uwárazmiya. [Khorazmiya.] 17. Bákhtarish. 18. Suguda. 19. Gadára. 20. Saka. 21. Thatagush. 22. Hara'uwatish. [Harakhotish.] 23. Maka. In all 23 provinces.

In Kissian. 1. Parsan. 2. Afarti. 3. Bapilu-fa. 4.

[l] So Sir J. G. Wilkinson (quoting Diod. i. 25) *Manners and Customs of the ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 199 and in his Appendix to the second book of Herodotus; see G. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. 2 p. 390. Wilkinson adds, that many Apis *stelæ* bearing Darius's name have been found in the sepulchres of the sacred bulls. Among the names of kings which occur in records of visits paid to the slate and *breccia* quarries on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea, is an oval containing that of Darius; the date of the inscription being the thirty-sixth, that is, the last year of his reign according to the Egyptian manner of registering regnal years, which we have in Ptolemy's Canon. For the calendar year in which his death occurred, the year of Nabonassar 263, was counted the first regnal year of his son Xerxes.

[m] See Journal R. A. S. vol. x. xiv. and xv. Add the note on the Aryan text, appended to vol. xii. where it treats of lines 15 and 16 of the Aryan text, col. 1. The extant Assyrian names are found in lines 5 and 6 of the Assyrian text. Of the obliterated names in the Assyrian, six out of seven may be restored from Darius's tomb-inscription, the Assyrian text of which is given in Roman character and translated by Mr H. Fox Talbot; Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. The Kissian names are in lines 10–14 of col. 1 of the Kissian text.

As'sura-fa. 5. Arbaya-fa. 6. Mutsariya-fa. 7. Angaus-fa. (sea-people.) 8. Sparta-pa. 9. Iyauna-fa. 10. Mata-pa. 11. Arminiya-fa. 12. Katbatukas-pa. 13. Parthuva-pa. 14. Sarrainkas-pa. 15. Ariiya-fa. 16. Varasmiya-fa. 17. Baksis. 18. Suktàs-pa. 19. [Barrupami]thana. 20. Sakka-pa. 21. Thattakus. 22. Arrauvatis. 23. Makka. In all 23 provinces.

In Assyrian. 1. Par'su. 2. Elam, or Nuva. 3. Babilu. 4. A's'sur. 5. Arabi. 6. Mi'sir. 7. a's varrati, "on sea." 8. 'Sapardu. 9. Yávanu. [10. Madai. 11. Hurassad. 12. *Katpadukka.* 13. *Partu.* 14. *Zaranga.*] 15. Arevu. 16. Khuvari'smu. 17. Bakhtar. 18. 'Sukdu. 19. Paruparae'sanna. 20. Nammiri. 21. 'Sattagu. [22. *Arukhattia.* 23. . . . In all 23 provinces.]

The Greek appellations corresponding with these, as furnished us by Herodotus or in his default by Strabo, are 1. Πέρσις. 2. Κισσίη, Herodotus; Κοσσαῖοι, and Ἐλυμαῖοι, Strabo. 3. Βαβυλών. 4. Ἀσσυρία. 5. Ἀραβία. 6. Αἴγυπτος. 7. Συρία, Σύροι, Herodotus; ἡ παραλία, Judith i. 7, 12, ii. 28. 8. Σάρδεις. (capital of Lydia and its dependencies.) 9. Ἰωνία (Ἰαονίη.) 10. Μηδικὴ (χώρη.) Herodotus; Μηδία, Strabo. 11. Ἀρμενία. 12. Καππαδοκία. 13. Πάρθοι, Herodotus; Παρθυαῖοι, Strabo. 14. Σαράγγαι, Herodotus; Δράγγαι, Strabo. 15. Ἀρειοι. 16. Χοράσμιοι, Herodotus; Χωράσμιοι, Strabo. 17. Βακτρία (γῆ). 18. Σόγδοι. 19. Γανδάριοι, Herodotus; Παροπάμισος ὄρος, Strabo. 20. Σάκαι. 21. Σατταγύδαι. 22. Ἀραχώτοι and Ἀραχωσία, Strabo. 23. Μύκοι.[n]

[n] As we cannot comment fully on these lists, we shall confine ourselves to a few necessary observations. In five Aryan names, the 2nd, 13th, 15th, 16th and 22nd, instead of *w* Sir H. C. Rawlinson now uses *v*. All the Aryan names are singulars, denoting countries. Some which end here with short *a*, namely, the 6th, 9th, 18th, 20th, end with long *a* in Darius's Persepolitan list; Journal R. A. S. vol. x. p. 280, as do the 6th and 20th in the tomb-list; Ibid. p. 294. There, like other names in the tomb-list indicating Darius's acquisitions, they appear to be plurals indicating *peoples*. Accordingly, in the tomb-list, the correspondent of our 9th is *Yuna*, as here with a terminal short *a*; but we have *Yuná takabará* when we come to the *Ionian axe-men* conquered by Darius during or after his expedition against the Scythians of Kimmeria in Europe. In the Kissian list, sixteen names out of

VI.

BEFORE continuing our narrative, some observations here are subjoined on the dates in Darius's record, of the achievements by which he gained his throne and afterwards overthrew all competitors—whether they claimed

the twenty-three end in *fa* or *pa* and are plurals (Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 67) designating *peoples* not regions. On the contrary, in the Kissian version of the tomb-inscription, the Persian usage is more closely followed, the names being almost all in the singular because designating countries. Our 15th, 16th and 17th Kissian names are *Arriva, Varasmis* and *Baiktarris* there. In the Assyrian list, the names printed in Italics are borrowed from Mr H. Fox Talbot's Assyrian text of the tomb-inscription; Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. p. 266. The names *Elam* and *Nammiri* are corrections given by Sir H. C. Rawlinson in Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 236. To *Elam* or *Nuva* and to *Babilu*, as in other (more ancient?) inscriptions but not here, to *Assur*, is subjoined a character supposed to be determinative and if phonetic to be equivalent to *ki*. For the twentieth name, which in the tomb-list is replaced by *Kantara* in the Kissian and *Kandari* in the Assyrian, Mr E. Norris reads *Parupamisana* in Journal R. A. S. vol. xv. p. 97. As Sir H. had previously expressed his doubt of the letters deciphered by him *rae* and by Mr Norris *mi*, we have printed those letters in Italics. In our supplementary list of corresponding Greek names, we have preferred names of countries to names of the occupying nations, where such have been readily supplied by Herodotus. The rest are ethnic. Our offering Σαρδεις (the name of the Lydian capital which, being a plural, perhaps designated also or anciently a *people)* as the correspondent of the *Sparda, Sparta-pa* or *Sapardu* of the Behistun inscription, which must include all of Asia Minor between Cappadocia and Ionia, requires some observation. We would premise, that the name of Sparta, so famous among the Greeks, may have been carried by Tantalus from Phrygia into the "isle of Pelops" his son; or rather that the Sparta, town of Europe, and Sparda, country of Asia, belonged once to cognate races. If we suppose *Saparda* or *Sparda* (the Persian name for Phrygia and Lydia, or the country intervening between Cappadocia and Ionia) to have been by some pronounced *Sfarda* (as *Parsa* by the Arabs *Farsa)*; and of *Sfarda* that there existed the varieties *Svarda* and *Swarda;* the transition hence to *Sarda*—or with Greek terminations Σαρδιες (in Ionic) and Σαρδεις—comes under the same category with all changes effected in Greek terms by the omission of the ancient *vau* or Digamma. Thus, too, the Sanskrit term *swarga*, signifying the heaven of Indra, whither also are translated the blessed dead (see Molesworth's Marathi Dict. p. 1118 and D. Forbes's Hindust.

the empire of Cambyses or attempted to re-establish independent kingdoms in any of the provinces. But the conclusions too confidently referred to in the introduction

Dict. p. 340) in Hindustani at least has also become *Sarga:* see Forbes's Hindust. Dict. p. 324. Another illustration may be taken from *Arvad*, the Hebrew name of a Phœnician island-state (now *Rúad)* found in Genes. x. 18 (and thence in 1 Chron. i. 16) also in Ezek. xxvii. 8, 11. For this becomes *Arad* in the Septuagint version, and in Josephus Antiq. i. 6 § 2 where the Mosaic statement is reproduced; and so it is written by Strabo xvi. 2 § 13 and by all Greek authors. We may add, that if Arvad or Arad be the same state which Sennacherib styles *Arpad*, in the Septuagint *Arpad*, *Arfat* and *Arfath;* (see 2 Kings xviii. 34 xix. 13, Isai. x. 9, xxxvi. 19, xxxvii. 13 also Jerem. xlix. 23) then the analogy is more perfect with our supposed transition from Sparda through Svarda to Sardis. If this last be granted probable, we would enquire next, whether the isle *Sardó* (Sardinia) which the Ionians, when oppressed by the Persian arms, repeatedly looked to as a refuge, and the inhabitants of which were at least in part Tyrrhenian (see Strabo v. 2 § 7) that is, of a people said by Herodotus i. 94 to have come from Lydia, did not derive its name, equally with the famous Lacedæmonian city Sparta, from that of a race which spread westward from Asia Minor. For the projected emigration of the Ionians to Sardinia, see Herod. i. 170, v. 106, 124. As to the fact that the country between Ionia and Cappadocia was called by the Persians Sparda, we may add that the people Φρύγες, from whom the greater part of that country was called by the Greeks Phrygia (though mentioned by Homer, as already seated in Asia on the banks of the Sangarius and in Ascania, at the time of the Trojan war and before; Iliad ii. 862, 863; iii. 184–189; xvi. 719) were believed by the Macedonians in Herodotus's time to be descended from a people who had emigrated thither from their country; where the Βρύγες, Βρίγες, or Βρύγοι, though called a Thracian people, are said by Strabo to have occupied the Bermian mountain, at the foot of which was the city Berœa, and seem placed by Herodotus between the Chalcidic race and the Pierians. See Herod. vii. 73, vi. 45, vii. 185, Strabo vii. 3 § 2 and frag. 25, 26 in the editions of Kramer and C. Müller; also xiii. 3 § 20. One might suspect the Βρύγες to have been a Pæonian rather than a Thracian people: see Strabo vii. frag. 38; and by the bye, should we not read περιοικῆσαι rather than πολιορκῆσαι in frag. 41, notwithstanding the narrative in Herod. v. 1?—The Pæonians placed by Homer (Iliad ii. 848–50, xvi. 287, 288, xxi. 135–160) on the afterwards Macedonian river Axius, claimed in our Darius's days to be a colony of Teucri from Troy; Herod. v. 13. And the Teucri are said to have crossed the Bosphorus along with the Mysians into Europe before the Trojan war, when the invaders conquered all the Thracians, and carried their arms westward as far as the Ionian sea or Adriatic and southward

to this second part of our work,[a] cannot all be now sustained, since an accidental communication gave Mr Edwin Norris's great kindness the opportunity of making known to us a discovery, achieved at the British Museum while the few last preceding sheets were passing through the press.

Applied to the Behistun inscription (as deciphered and translated from the Aryan and Kissian by Rawlinson and Norris) Herodotus's statement (which we supposed to be no less authentic) concerning the length of the Magian's reign [b] led us, long ago, to the belief that Bágayádish, the month in which Gaumáta lost his life, stood the eighth in succession from and after the month Garmapada, in which he took possession of the throne. But if from Garmapada to Bágayádish (these extremes included) was a string of eight months, then we perceived that four months only intervened, completing the circle of twelve, after this Bágayádish and before the next returning Garmapada. If so, it followed next, from the tenor of the narrative on the rock, that these as denominated by the Aryans were, first Atriyádiya, second Anámaka, third Thuravâhara, and the fourth Viyakhana. And then it became probable, that Thaigarchish, which followed Thuravâhara according to the inscription, but which, it now appeared, could not have followed that month immediately, must yet be placed

as far as the river Peneus; Herod. vii. 20. Hence it may be that Darius, when he transplanted Pæonian tribes from the banks of the Strymon into Phrygia, thought he was bringing them back to their own country, or at least to a kindred people: see Herod. v. 15–17, 23, 98. A connection of the Mygdonians who lived on the left bank of the Axius (Herod. vii. 123) also on the banks of the Lake Bolbé, and who are described as a Thracian people (Strabo vii. frag. 11 and 36), with the Phrygians who bordered on the river Sangarius, may seem indicated by the name Homer gives to one of the Phrygian chiefs whose ally against the Amazons Priam had been, *Mygdon*.

[a] above p. 230.

[b] Herodotus (iii. 67, 68) states that the Magian, having reigned, pretending to be Smerdis son of Cyrus, the seven months which Cambyses wanted to complete eight years of reign, was detected in the eighth month. He then relates, how the imposture was found out and the Magian slain.

as near after it as possible, that is, next month but two, or next after Garmapada. All these conclusions were afterwards verified by the list of twelve Babylonian month-monograms which (as we mentioned in the introduction just now adverted to) Mr Norris communicated. For, of this series of monograms, the second, the ninth, the tenth, and the twelfth in position, are all found in the Assyrian counterpart of the Behistun inscription, corresponding respectively with the Thaigarchish, the Atriyádiya, the Anámaka, and the Viyakhana of the Aryan and Kissian versions.[c] And thus it appeared,

1. That two months only divided Thuravâhara from the ensuing Thaigarchish.

2. It appeared that onward from the second intervening month (which must necessarily be Garmapada) to the month corresponding with the next Bágayâdish (these extremes included) was in fact (as it had been inferred from Herodotus), a space in the Babylonian Calendar marked by eight successive month-monograms.

3. It appeared (and it was not possible that it should have been otherwise) that four months only, indicated by their monograms in the Babylonian Calendar, intervened between the end of that Bágayádish and the beginning of the next Garmapada.

4. It was found that, of these four month-monograms, the three, proved by the Assyrian text to correspond

[c] They are found respectively in lines 52, 36, 46 and 15 of the Assyrian text, printed in Journal R. A. S. vol. xiv; and these texts have their correspondents in the Aryan text at col. 2 lines 46, 47; at col. 1 line 89; at col. 2 line 26 and at col. 1 line 37 respectively, in Journal R. A. S. vol. x. In line 15 of the Assyrian text, part only of what is printed as the month-monogram is really such; that is, the former part, consisting of four of those hooks or angular signs which are often found (according to Mr Norris) with the upper line shortened more and more till the under one alone is left, and the sign is reduced to a single oblique stroke or wedge. The remainder of the group is the word *sú* or *tsû* as the author is informed by both Mr Norris and Mr W. H. Coxe (of the British Museum), signifying "he" and belonging to the ensuing context. Again, the monogram in the 52nd line of the Assyrian text is complete without the two hooks printed as the commencement of the group, which, according to Mr Norris and Mr Coxe, is an error.

respectively with the Aryan month-names, Atriyádiya, Anámaka, and Viyakhana—occupied the very places already inferentially assigned to those months, the first, the second, and the fourth places in the interval.

5. Lastly, it was found that the third of these places was (as it had likewise already been inferred) that of Thuravâhara; because, according to Darius, this month stood in one of the two places between Anámaka and Garmapada, that is to say, either third or last of the four months between Bágayádish and Garmapada, while the last place of the four, or next place before Garmapada, is (as already observed) appropriated for Viyakhana by the Assyrian text of Darius's inscription.

So far, then, certainly, Herodotus guided us aright in the interpretation of the Behistun inscription, by the statement that the pretended Smerdis was slain in the eighth month of his reign. It is certain, that the six months beginning with the last month and ending with the first of those eight in the next year, were (as the Aryans named them) Bágayádish, Atriyádiya, Anámaka, Thuravâhara, Viyakhana, and Garmapada. Also, of the six months following the last of these (for three only of which we have the Aryan names,—Thaigarchish, Markazana and Adukanish) it is certain, that Thaigarchish was the first. We have, therefore, seven Aryan months out of the twelve in their proper relative positions, and so placed by two consenting processes;—one of them due to Herodotus's information, the other founded on the lists that have been discovered of Babylonian month-monograms.

But Herodotus seemed to help us further to fix these months aright in the circle of the seasons of the solar year. He states that of the eight months, in the last of which the Magian was slain, the former seven would have completed the eighth year of the reign of Cambyses, who in fact reigned but seven years and five months. The Magian's eighth month he appears to consider the first month in the first of the six and thirty years which (like

Ptolemy's Canon of Reigns at Babylon) he assigns to the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes.[d]

If, then, Herodotus's regnal years of Cambyses and Darius were derived from a register of calendar years, like that of the years of Nabonassar, it would follow that the month in which the Magian was slain, Bágayádish—the eighth since his reign began and corresponding with the Babylonian month denoted by the eighth monogram—was the first month of the year according to the Calendar used by Herodotus's informants or to which the documents they relied on were accommodated. Where, then, and from whom did Herodotus derive his story; and in particular, these numbers of years and months which he assigns to the reigns of Cambyses, of the Magian, and of Darius?

We supposed the answer to be, In Egypt and from Egyptians. Accordingly, we conjectured that the Aryan month which (if we judge from the Behistun inscription) Assyrian scribes denoted by the monogram of the eighth month in the Babylonian Calendar, that is to say, that Bágayádish, coincided with the Egyptian month Thoth. Now, this first month of the Egyptian year in the 227th year of Nabonassar (the first of Darius's thirty-six regnal years, according to Ptolemy's Canon of Reigns) coincided exactly with the first thirty days of the January of the corresponding Julian year B. C. 521: for, since the commencement of the Era at mid-day on the 26th of February B. C. 747 (each year of Nabonassar being one of 365 days only, and no intercalation having been admitted) its New-year's day had fallen back 226 quarters of a day or fifty-six and half days in the Julian Calendar.

[d] Herodotus (iii. 67) terms the Magian's first seven months,

μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύσῃ ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος.

Just before, in chap. 66, he had said that Cambyses when he died, had reigned in all seven years and five months. It is in vii. 4, where he records Darius's death, that he makes that king to have reigned in all six and thirty years. Ptolemy's Canon assigns him thirty-six years of Nabonassar, from the 227th to the 262nd of the era—and to Cambyses (taking no notice of the Magian's reign) the eight years from the 219th to the 226th year of the era.

Bágayádish being thus brought to coincide in the year E. N. 227 or B. C. 521 with Thoth of the one year or January of the other, it was necessarily concluded, further, that all the dates in the Bisitun inscription must be adjusted to the months and days of the years of Nabonassar as in the first of two Tables—marked A and B respectively—which will be given presently.

And, therefore, in preceding pages we have interpreted several dates according to the scheme which this table exhibits. We have placed the last scene of the life of Cambyses in Syria, at about midsummer of the year E. N. 226 or B. C. 522. The previous steps of Gaumáta the Magian on the fourteenth day of Viyakhana and on the ninth day of Garmapada, we have supposed made at like dates in the months of May and June in the same year. And the death of the impostor on the tenth day of the Bágayádish following, we have supposed to have befallen in the month Thoth of the year E. N. 227 or in the month January of the year B. C. 521 and perhaps on a day of the same number in those months of the Egyptian or of the Julian reckoning. Throughout, we have understood Herodotus in his regnal years and months of Cambyses, of the Magian, and of Darius, to be speaking according to the Egyptian Calendar of months and an Egyptian table of Regnal years. But the fresh information now obtained, respecting the Calendar to which the dates of Darius's Behistun narrative are referred by its Assyrian text, tends to impeach our scheme, and even at once to make it probable that the Behistun dates—if interpreted accordingly—are placed in the circle of the seasons either some ten months too early or some sixty days too late.

Mr Norris wrote thus (15 Dec. 1864): "A discovery recently made by Coxe in searching among the broken slabs" (in the British Museum) "seems to me to prove that the year" (of the Calendar in question) "began in the spring. This discovery is a Calendar with all the names, written phonetically in conjunction with the monograms: and these with one exception" (which how-

ever is only an ordinal definition substituted for a proper name) " are identical with the modern so-called Jewish months, now proved to be really of six or seven centuries before the Christian era, and more ancient than the Persian period which Benfey thought was the date of their introduction. They are found on a slab of Assurbanipal the son of Esarhaddon . . . "

The new-found names from the first to the twelfth, are put severally opposite to the twelve monograms before known; so that the first name stands against the first monogram, the second name against the second monogram, and so on in succession till the twelfth name; which, accordingly, stands opposite to the twelfth monogram. " These monograms," says Mr Norris, in a second hasty note, " are the initial letters of the names, in the Accad, or old Turanian language of the country, which are given in the same, but of which we have as yet made very little."[e]

We now present to the reader these Assyrian month-names in their order, adding to each on the same line the number of the corresponding monogrammatic appellation in the old language of Babylonia. And to these again, we append the respectively-corresponding Aryan names so far as, by the methods detailed at the beginning of this section, we have been able to allot them; that is to say, in the case of seven names out of the nine which are given in the Aryan and Kissian versions of Darius's record.

[e] " The slab of Assurbanipal," adds Mr Norris, " is, like the many thousands we have, astronomical, astrological, arithmetical, mechanical, geographical &c. We have lists of birds, beasts, fishes, articles of furniture, towns, temples, rivers, stars, months (hitherto only moon-grams), tables of squares, &c. &c., without end. Some of them have been printed; but not the phonetic months, because the slab was not found till the plates were completed." (14 January 1865.)

B. C. 522-518.

CORRESPONDING NAMES AND NUMBERS

OF MONTHS.

ASSYRIAN.	OLD BABYLONIAN.	ARYAN.
Nisannu.	i.	Garmapada.
Airu.	ii.	*Thaigarchish.*
Sivanu.	iii.	
Duvazu.	iv.	
Abu.	v.	
Ululu.	vi.	
*Tas*ritu.	vii.	
Arakh-samna.	viii.	Bâgayádish.
Kisilivu.	ix.	*Atriyadiya.*
Thabitu.	x.	*Anámaka.*
Sabatu.	xi.	Thuravâhara.
Addaru.	xii.	*Viyakhana.*

On this Table there are some observations to be made. The sibilant answering to the Hebrew ס in the names *Nisannu*, *Sivanu*, and *Kisilivu*, is not the same as the one used for instance in *Sabatu* and corresponding with the Hebrew שׁ. In the seventh name, the three letters in Italic character at the beginning, express a part of the word which is not distinct on the monument. The eighth designation, standing in the place of the Jewish Markhesvan and the Syrian second Tisri, is interpreted from the Hebrew and Aramaic to be a substitute for a proper name and to signify "*the eighth month.*" The twelfth name is also written by Mr Norris, *Adarru.* The italicised Aryan names are those which, in the Assyrian text of Darius's great inscription, are expressed each of them by that one of the twelve monograms (or initials of names) denoting the proper Babylonian months, whereof we have placed the number beside it. The correspondence between these old Babylonian names (represented here by the number of the place of each in the lists) and the twelve Assyrian month-names, is that exhibited by the lately-discovered slab of king Assurbanipal.

The substantial identity between these names of As-

syrian months and those of which the employment by the Jews [f] can be traced back to years ensuing shortly after

[f] Of the names of months used by the modern Jews, it is the name of the eighth alone, *Markhezvan* or *Khezvan*, that is not found on the slab of Assurbanipal. In the canonical Jewish writers, Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the author of the book Esther, and the uncanonical writers, the authors of the books of Maccabees and Josephus, we have found all these names scattered except the fourth.

1. For *Nisan* (נִיסָן) see Nehem. ii. 1, Esth. iii. 7, Joseph. Antiq. ii. 14 § 6 (where he adds καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχή.) iii. 10 § 5. In i. 3 § 3 he says;

Μωϋσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισὰν, ὃς ἐστι Μακεδόνων λεγόμενος (ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγόμενος) μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ὥρισε, κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγών.

Add xi. 4 § 8, iii. 8 § 4; Philo the Jew says:

τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐαρινῆς ἰσημερίας πρῶτον ἀναγράφει μῆνα Μωϋσῆς.

Vit. Moys. iii. 29.

2. For the Jewish form of the second month-name, *(Iyar* in Sir N. Harris Nicolas's "*Chronology of History*," art. *The Calendar of the Jews)* it is Ἰὰρ in Georgius Syncellus ed. Dindorf. p. 39, and in Joseph. Antiq. viii. 3 § 1 where the statement of 1 Kings vi. 1 that Solomon began to build the house of Jehovah in the fourth year of his reign over Israel in the month Zif which is the second month, is reported by Josephus with this variation,

μηνὶ δευτέρῳ ὃν Μακεδόνες μὲν Ἀρτεμίσιον καλοῦσιν, Ἑβραῖοι δὲ Ἰὰρ.

Gesenius under *Zif* makes it to have been written by the Jews אִיָּר

3. For the third month *Sivan* (סִיוָן) see Esther viii. 9.

4. The fourth month *Thammuz* is named more than once θαμνει in Georg. Syncell. ed. Dind. pp. 11, 40. The idol Θαμμεὶζ (תַּמּוּז) of Ezek. viii. 14 is identified by Theodoret with the (Syrian) Adonis of the Greeks.

5. The fifth month is written ἀββὰ in Joseph. Antiq. iv. 4 § 7 where he reports the death of Aaron from Num. xx. 23–29 and xxxiii. 37–39, and makes this month correspond with the Hecatombæon of the Athenians and the Löus of the Macedonians.

6. The name of the sixth month *Elul* (אֱלוּל) is found in Nehem. vi. 15. Josephus mentions this month under the Macedonian name of Gorpiæus, Bell. vi. 8 §§ 4, 5 speaking of the final operations of the Romans against Jerusalem, which they took on the eighth day of this month.

7. The seventh month, called *Tisri* or *Thisri*, but by the Syncellus Θεσελείφ pp. 12, 40 remained the first of the Jewish civil year, as it had been before the ecclesiastical year was ordained. Josephus treats the second month of the year 600 of Noah's life (Gen. vii. 11) and the seventh and tenth months of that year (Genes. viii. 4, 5) and the first and second months of the 601st year (Gen. viii. 13, 14) as the eighth, the first, the fourth, the seventh, and the eighth respectively of the Mosaic year. See Joseph. Antiq. i. 3 § 3. We have the name of this

the return to their homes of a portion of the nation from Babylon (an identity as complete as that of the Aryan month-names with those employed in the Kissian text of

month in what Josephus writes of 1 Kings viii. 2.

ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ μόλις συνίασιν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Θισρὶ, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων Ὑπερβερεταίῳ λεγομένῳ.

Ant. viii. 4 § 1. The feast of twice seven days he makes to be the feast of Tabernacles (§ 5) : the month he calls by the name of the corresponding Macedonian month Hyperberetæus, Ant. iii. 10 § 2; Bell. iv. 1 § 10 ; ii. 19 § 4. That in civil matters it was still the first month in the year, he states in a passage to be quoted presently.

8. The month not named but described on the slab of Assurbanipal as *Arakh-samna* or 'month the eighth,' is called in the Jewish Calendar *Markhesvan* or *Khesvan*. This, according to Josephus, is the second month spoken of in Genes. vii. 11. He writes "This disaster (the deluge) happened in the now 600th year of Noah's rule,

ἐν μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρσουάνῃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν διατεταχότες· Μωϋσῆς δὲ κ. τ. λ.

as we have already cited him under Nisan ; and then

Οὗτος δ' αὐτῷ (ὁ Νισὰν) καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ Θεῖον τιμὰς ἦρχεν· ἐπὶ μέντοίγε πράσεις καὶ ὠνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον μῆνα διεφύλαξε.

Ant. i. 3 § 3. But the few last words seem corrupt: We would suggest, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ μῆνα πρῶτον διεφύλαξε, or simply, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ μῆνα διεφύλαξε.

9. For *Chisleu* (כִּסְלֵו) see Zech. vii. 1 ; Nehem. i. 1. It is the Χασιλεῦ of 1 Macc. i. 54 and the Χασλεῦ of Joseph. Ant. xii. 7 § 6, the Macedonian Apellæus, of which the twenty-fifth day was the date both of the desolation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, A. S. 145, Olymp. 153, B. C. 168, and of the renewal of the worship, three years afterwards, in A. S. 148, called τὰ ἐγκαίνια in S. John x. 22.

10. For *Tebeth* (טֵבֵת) the tenth Jewish month, see Esther ii. 16. It corresponded with the Syro-Macedonian Audynæus which (after the adoption of the solar year of the Julian computation) corresponded exactly with the Roman January ; see Suidas, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and the Alexandrian Chronicle as quoted by Clinton, Fast. Hell. vol. 3 Appendix chap. 4 "On the Macedonian months."

11. For the eleventh Jewish month *Shebat* (שְׁבָט) see Zech. i. 7, also 1 Macc. xvi. 14.

12. The twelfth Jewish month *Adar* (אֲדָר) is mentioned Esth. iii. 7, 13 ; viii. 12 ; ix. 1, 15, 17, 19, 21, Ezra vi. 15 ; 1 Macc. vii. 43, 50. The resolution of the Jews here recorded, to make the day of the defeat of Nikanor by Judas Maccabæus a yearly festival, is again declared 2 Macc. xv. 36 where we read

καὶ ἐδογμάτισαν .. μηδαμῶς ἐᾶσαι ἀπαρασήμαντον τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν· ἔχειν δὲ ἐπίσημον τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός, "Αδαρ λέγεται τῇ Συριακῇ φωνῇ, πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς Μαρδοχαϊκῆς ἡμέρας.

As the last citation shows that the author of the second book of Maccabees supposed these month-names, used by the Jews since their

Darius's Behistun inscription) seems to evince, that the Jews acquired the custom of designating their months by those names at Babylon, before the Medes and Persians under Cyrus conquered the kingdom there seated; a kingdom which since the fall of Nineveh had been Chaldæan rather than Assyrian; though the kings themselves appear to have been of Assyrian descent, and Assyria proper was part of their dominions.

There might seem, perhaps, to be room for the question, Were not these names Aramaic wherewith Assurbanipal interprets the monograms of the old Babylonian calendars. However, the Syrian use of them (attested by the practice of the Seleucidan era) like the use of them by the Jews, is more probably derived from the law of their Assyrian conquerors, than supposed to be ancestral and from them to have been adopted by the Assyrians. Yet the wide use of the language of Aram, is perceived by the fact which Daniel has recorded, that the Chaldæan sages conversed with their king Nebukhadrezzar in Aramaic; not in the cognate Assyrian of that king's inscriptions, nor yet in what (it would seem) was their own—the lately-revealed language of primitive Babylonian civilization, called the Accad by Mr Norris, which (like the Kissian) is referred to the Turanian family of tongues, and appears to be indicated by Daniel, where he relates how in boyhood he with others of the seed of Israel and of David were selected by Nebukhadrezzar's order from the cap-

return from Babylon, to be Syriac, we will here introduce (from *L' art de verifier les dates* and Sir H. Nicolas's *Chronology of History)* the Syrian and Macedonian month-names in the order of their correspondence. The Syrian are 1. Nisan. 2. Jiar. 3. Haziran. 4. Tamuz. 5. Ab. 6. Elul. 7. Tisri I. 8. Tisri II. 9. Kanun I. 10. Kanun II. 11. Sabat. 12. Adar. The Macedonian names corresponding with these respectively, are 1. Xanthicus. 2. Artemisius. 3. Dæsius. 4. Panemus or Panémus. 5. Loüs. 6. Gorpiæus. 7. Hyperberetæus. 8. Dius. 9. Apellæus. 10. Audynæus. 11. Peritius. 12. Dystrus. The correspondence between these twelve months of double name used by the Græco-Syrian province and those of their Roman masters, when, although the Seleucidan era was retained, the Julian year was adopted in Syria, has been already sufficiently indicated, in speaking of the Jewish *Tebeth* which was the Syrian second *Kanun*.

tives, to be instructed "in the learning and tongue of the Chaldæans."[g] Again, just as the medium of intercourse between Nebukhadrezzar and the sages was Aramaic, so, a hundred years before, the envoy of the Assyrian Assurbanipal's grandfather was requested by Hezekiah's officers to speak to them not in "Jewish" but in Aramaic, in the hearing of the people that were above on the wall of Jerusalem.[h]

From the season of the year which the month Nisan (for instance) occupied according to the Syrian and the Jewish reckoning, it is a highly probable, but not perhaps a necessary, conclusion, that the corresponding Assyrian *Nisannu* stood also in the same, or nearly the same, connection with the spring equinox; in which case the same must also be true of the first month of the old Babylonian Calendar; and equally so of its corresponding Aryan month *Garmapada*. Reserving, then, the discussion, whether of objections to this conclusion or of additional proofs that may confirm it, we will here present a tabular view, marked B, of the approximate positions in the solar year of the Julian Calendar, which (supposing the conclusion accurate) will be occupied by the months and days noted in Darius's great record. These positions will be either about sixty days above the places assigned to the king's dates in the former Table, marked A, or ten months below them.

And now—having given this new Table, formed on the principle that, for the seasons of the solar year with which their months are connected, the Assyrian and old Babylonian is to be interpreted in accordance with the later

g Dan. ii. 4; i. 4. That the Assyrian was cognate to the Aramaic appears even from the month-table, where the month which the Jews called *Markhesvan* is described as *Arakh-samna*. See יָרֵחַ and יֶרַח "moon" and "month," in the Hebrew, and יְרַח "month," in the Aramaic vocabulary of Scripture, also in Hebrew שְׁמֹנָה fem. or שְׁמֹנֶה masc. signifying "eight;" and שְׁמִינִי "eighth." But if the designation of the eighth month be not pure Aramaic, it will then, perhaps, follow that the designations of the other months are not Aramaic either but Assyrian.

h 2 Kings xviii. 26. Isai. xxxvi. 11.

Jewish and the Syrian Calendar—let us enquire further as to the soundness of that principle. To put the matter plainly—Can we offer any valid objection to the belief that the month Garmapada, in which Gaumáta the Magian took possession of the throne of Cambyses, was about April, and the month Bágayádish, in which he lost both throne and life, was about November; whether in B. C. 522 which is E. N. 226; or in B. C. 521, which is E. N. 227? Or on the other hand, can we adduce any considerations in favour of such a conclusion?

Against it, may be alleged the objection that Bágayádish, the month in which Gaumáta was slain, not being the first but the eighth month of the Calendars (many in old Babylonian and one in both this language and Assyrian) which have been acquired from the ruins of the cities where they were used, no such Calendar can have been the one to which Herodotus appears to refer, where he intimates that the month, in which the Magian usurper of the throne of Cambyses was slain by Darius, began a year that would have been a ninth regnal year of Cambyses, but was in fact the first regnal year of Darius. And then, the Assyrio-Babylonian Calendar being excluded, what other Calendar, it may be asked, can our historian have had in view, unless the Egyptian? That he refers to the Egyptian Calendar, was the supposition on which our first tabular arrangement of Behistun dates was founded: and to justify it, the further supposition might be set up, that the Jewish months preceded the Assyrian of like name by sixty days or thereabout, so that Garmapada (the Assyrian Nisannu) was about June, and Bágayádish (or "the eighth month" of Assyria) about January—a Julian month that, in E. N. 227, or the first regnal year of Darius according to Ptolemy's Canon, was identical with Thoth, the first month of that Egyptian year. And this very arbitrary second supposition may be excused, in its turn, as at least not without a parallel in fact; it having been proved by Norisius to the satisfaction of Clinton, the author of the *Fasti Hellenici* and *Fasti Romani*, that the months of Macedonian name from Dius to Hyperberetæus

A

TABLE OF BEHISTUN DATES,

(Referred to pp. 425 and 431.)

SUPPOSING

THE MONTH WHEN GAUMATA WAS SLAIN TO CORRESPOND WITH THE THOTH OF THE YEAR E. N. 227.

Corresponding Egyptian months.	E. N. 226. Year 8th of Cambyses.	E. N. 227. Year 1st of Darius.	E. N. 228. Year 2nd of Darius.	E. N. 229. Year 3rd of Darius.	E. N. 230. Year 4th of Darius.	E. N. 231. Year 5th of Darius.	E. N. 226–231. Corresponding Roman months.
1. Thoth.	1.	1. Bágayádish, 10th.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1. January.
2. Paopi.	2.	2. Atriyádiya, 26th.	2.	2.	2. Atriyádiya, 23rd.	2.	2. February.
3. Athor.	3.	3. Anámaka, 2nd, 27th.	3. Anámaka, 15th.	3.	3.	3. Anámaka, 13th.	3. March.
4. Khoeak.	4.	4. Thuravâhara, 8th, 18th	4. Thuravâhara, 30th.	4.	4. Thuravâhara, 12th.	4.	4. April.
5. Tobi.	5. Viyakhana, 14th.	5.	5.	5. Viyakhana, 22nd.	5.	5. Viyakhana, 7th.	5. May.
6. Mekhir.	6. Garmapada, 9th.	6.	6.	6. Garmapada, 1st.	6. Garmapada, 6th.	6.	6. June.
7. Phamenoph.	7.	7. Thaigarchish, 9th.	7.	7.	7.	7.	7. July.
8. Pharmuthi.	8.	8.	8.	8.	8.	8. (*Markazana*, 22nd.)	8. August.
9. Pakhons.	9.	9.	9.	9.	9.	9.	9. September.
10. Paoni.	10.	10.	10.	10.	10.	10.	10. October.
11. Epep.	11.	11.	11.	11.	11.	11.	11. November.
12. Mesore.	12.	12.	12. (*Adukanish*, 26th.)	12.	12.	12.	12. December.

B

TABLE OF BEHISTUN DATES,

SUPPOSING

BAGAYADISH TO CORRESPOND WITH THE JEWISH MONTH MARKHESVAN.

Months of the Julian year.	B. C. 522 ar… N. 226 or B. C. 521 … E. N. 227.	B. C. 521 ; E. N. 227. or B. C. 520 ; E. N. 228.	B. C. 520 ; E. N. 228. or B. C. 519 ; E. N. 229.	B. C. 519 ; E. N. 229. or B. C. 518 ; E. N. 230.	B. C. 518 ; E. N. 230. or B. C. 517 ; E. N. 231.	B. C. 517 ; E. N. 231. or B. C. 516 ; E. N. 232.	Corresponding Assyrian months.
1. January.	1.	1. Anámaka, 2nd, 27th.	1. Anámaka, 15th.	1.	1.	1. Anámaka, 13th.	10. Thabitu.
2. February.	2.	2. Thuravâhara, 8th, 18th.	2. Thuravâhara, 30th.	2.	2. Thuravâhara, 12th.	2.	11. Sabatu.
3. March.	3. Viyakha…h.	3.	3.	3. Viyakhana, 22nd.	3.	3. Viyakhana, 7th.	12. Adarru.
4. April.	4. Garmapa…h.	4.	4.	4. Garmapada, 1st.	4. Garmapada, 6th.	4.	1. Nisannu.
5. May.	5.	5. Thaigarchish, 9th.	5.	5.	5.	5.	2. Airu.
6. June.	6.	6.	6.	6.	6.	6. (*Markazana*, 22nd, ?)	3. Sivanu.
7. July.	7.	7.	7.	7.	7.	7.	4. Duvazu.
8. August.	8.	8.	8.	8.	8.	8.	5. Abu.
9. September.	9.	9.	9.	9.	9.	9.	6. Ululu.
10. October.	10.	10.	10.	10.	10.	10.	7. *Tasritu*.
11. November.	11. Bágayádi…h.	11.	11.	11.	11.	11.	8. Arakh-samna.
12. December.	12. Atriyádi…h.	12.	12.	12. Atriyádiya, 23rd.	12.	12.	9. Kisilivu.

To follow page 432.

twelve-month, which, like the old Hebrew twelve-month under the kings of the house of David, remained the regnal year of their registers and chronological computations. That such a year there was with the Babylonians, beginning in autumn with the month in which the deluge had commenced, and again in which Noah and his family, having been saved, came forth from the ark in the ensuing year, that is, the second month of the old Hebrew Calendar—seems confirmed by the fact that the Syro-Macedonian year also began not only in autumn, but a month later than the same secular year which we have called Hebrew, as we might call Israelitish the calendar year instituted under Moses at the Exodus. The Syrian year began with the month called after the Macedonian conquest Dius by the Greeks, but by those of Syrian (that is, Aramaic) language and descent, the second Tisri; and this second Tisri, (as we may learn from Josephus) corresponded with the second month of the old Hebrew year, the civil or secular year of the Jews; that is, it corresponded with the eighth month of the year peculiar to the Jews as Israelites, the month following next after Tisri, called Markhesvan. There is, also, an indication, not to be overlooked, that a calendar year beginning a month later than the old Hebrew year preserved by the Jews for civil uses, was in use among the neighbours of the children of Israel in the tenth century before Christ. It is afforded by the fact, that when he became king of the tribes that revolted from the son of Solomon in B. C. 976, Jeroboam, instead of the Mosaic feast Tabernacles beginning on the 15th day of the seventh month of the Mosaic, or first month of the old Calendar, substituted for his subjects a festival beginning on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. If the feast Tabernacles marked the first month of the civil year in Judah, Jeroboam's festival in the eighth month seems to have marked the same by another reckoning.[k]

To these reasons for believing that the Babylonians and

[k] See 1 Kings xii. 32, 33; Josephus, Antiq. viii. 8 §§ 4, 5.

Assyrians had a year beginning with the eighth month of their ordinary Calendar, we add the evidence that they had a regnal year which did not begin with the first month (that is, Nisannu) of their ordinary Calendar. Nehemiah, the Jewish cupbearer of Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, ascribes to a single regnal year of his master's both the ninth month of one calendar year, and the first month of the next. He includes both a month Khisleu and the following Nisan in the same twentieth year of Artaxerxes.[l] On the other hand, the author of the book Esther seems pretty clearly to intimate that the regnal years of the king Akhshurush (or rather, as we suppose, Khshurush) were counted (not only by himself who was a Jew but by Haman, the king's chief favourite, "the Jews' enemy") to begin with Nisan and to end with Adar.[m]

It would appear, then, that, in considering the Bâga-yâdish when the Magian was slain, the first month of a new regnal year, that should have been the ninth of Cambyses but turned out to be Darius's first, Herodotus may have referred to the same calendar year as that made use of by his contemporary Nehemiah,—a year at Babylon corresponding with the old Hebrew or civil year of the Israelites, but commencing about a month later.

Here, a reluctance to give up our original scheme of the relation to the solar seasons, of Darius's Behistun dates, might urge this question; Why may we not suppose the months of the Babylonian and Assyrian Calendar,—whether numbered from Nisannu or from "month the eighth" of the ordinary Calendar—to have begun, in the reign of Darius at least, some two months later in the circle of the seasons than did, and do, the Jewish months of like name? That this supposition cannot be permitted, we argue first from the book of Nehemiah. This Jewish attendant upon the Great King's person not only at Shushan[n] but probably wherever the king went, and wherever in the course of the seasons he resided, calls the months he has occasion to mention, Khisleu, Nisan, and

[l] Nehem. i. 1; ii. 1. [m] See Esther iii. 7–13. [n] Nehem. i. 1.

Elul,[o] without adding their number to show the readers of his Hebrew narrative, that is, his countrymen, where those months stood in the Mosaic Calendar. And yet it would have been proper, and would have naturally occurred to him, to specify so much, if these names denoted different seasons in the Assyrian calendar at the king's court and in the calendar of the Jews at Jerusalem. But it seems that in Nehemiah's time, the correspondence between the Mosaic numbers and the Assyrian names of the months was supposed known to everybody, though, when the prophet Zechariah and the author of the book Esther wrote, this was not taken for certain : [p] a fact, by the bye, which may be commended to the consideration of such as take the book Esther to have been written long after the events it refers to.[q] But, secondly, it is the author of

[o] Nehem. i. 1 ; ii. 1 ; iii. 15. He uses the term "the seventh month" instead of a proper name, vii. 73, with reference to the law of the feast Tabernacles, where it is designated by its number only.

[p] See Zech. i. 7, where the name *Shebát* is subjoined to the Mosaic number "eleven," which was also we know the number of the Assyrian name *Sabatu*. In Haggai everywhere and in Zech. i. 1, the Mosaic month-numbers are used alone. But in Esther ii. 16, iii. 7, 13, viii. 9, 12, ix. 1, the names of Assyrian derivation, Tebeth, Nisan, Sivan, and Adar, are subjoined to the Mosaic month-numbers, "ten," "one" "three," and "twelve." In the context following the mention of Adar, that is, in Esther x. 15, 17, 19, 20, the correspondence with the Mosaic number being now known, the name Adar is used alone.

[q] In an article on "Bible Dictionaries (Smith's and Kitto's)" in the Edinburgh Review for January 1855 at pp. 57, 58 is the following; "We believe, that were the same measure meted to a Scriptural as to a secular book, no doubt would remain in the minds of competent critics, that neither of these narratives" (neither Esther nor the book of Daniel) "is contemporary with the events related." The author of the present work has not noted any expression in Esther shewing a considerable interval between the time when the personages of the book flourished and (not the materials but) the compilation of the book, except the explanatory parenthesis in the first verse; "This is Ahasuerus (Khshurush) which reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces." A diminished Perso-Median empire at the time of the writing of this passage (which, however, may have been subsequent to the date of the book) seems indicated; such as, in B. C. 479 and years ensuing, Xerxes suffered in Europe and on the

Esther who seems, more decisively than Nehemiah, to contradict the supposition by which it has been proposed above to vindicate our first table of Behistun dates. For, not only does he show us Haman regarding the twelve months from a certain Nisan to a certain Adar as one year, no less in accordance with the lately-discovered list of Assyrian month-names than with the Jewish reckoning;[r] but the fourteenth and fifteenth of that Adar became annual festivals, observed on days of the same number in the Jewish month of the same name. Now, had the Assyrian Adarru not occupied the same place in the solar circle with the Jewish Adar, the triumph originally celebrated on the fourteenth and fifteenth of the Assyrian Adarru, would not have been commemorated on those days of the Jewish Adar. Therefore, we find ourselves obliged to abandon the notion that Garmapada, that is Nisannu, the first month of the calendar referred to in the Assyrian text at least of the Behistun inscription, was at about June, and Bágayádish, or the eighth month, about January. Hence, we own our verification of the Behistun dates to have been inaccurate heretofore; that is, in respect of the accession and death of the Magian, the death of Cambyses, and the accession of Darius.

But now, a further question arises; Are the Behistun

Asiatic coast of the Egean and Hellespont, the six years' revolt of Egypt under Artaxerxes Makrokheir, B. C. 460–5; or the much longer loss of the same country, Egypt, under Arsakes Artaxerxes Mnemon and Okhus Artaxerxes, B. C. 404.–350. Many, we doubt not, that are numbered in the list of subjects on Darius's tomb, speedily became independent. In particular we know not when Darius's India which Alexander reannexed, was lost to the Persian kings. Not long perhaps after the disastrous attempt of Xerxes to enlarge his dominions in Europe.

[r] This year, from Nisan to Adar, seems to be regarded also by the author of Esther as constituting the twelfth regnal year of Ahasuerus. It would seem, then, either that there were two computations of the regnal year in the central parts of the empire, Perso-Media, Kissia, Chaldæo-Assyria, as there seem to have been two calendar years; or the writer followed the Jewish reckoning of Persian regnal years. These were years of the Mosaic, as those of the native kings of Judah had been years of the older Hebrew, calendar.

dates to be put at the seasons they are found to belong to, next preceding or next following the points at which they stand in our first and now rejected Table? Is each date in that Table to be moved two months back or ten months forward? For instance; Did the death of the Magian and accession of Darius happen in the Assyrian eighth month (say November) in B. C. 522; or in the Assyrian eighth month in B. C. 521? And the eighth and last year of Cambyses' reign according to the Chaldæan registration at Babylon—did it begin with the Assyrian eighth month in B. C. 523 or in B. C. 522?

These years, B. C. 523, 522 and 521, are quite parallel with the Egyptian years of Nabonassar, in Ptolemy's Canon, 225, 226 and 227. But this table of reigns of successive dynasties at Babylon assigns to each king, as his first regnal year, that year upon the register during which his accession to the throne took place; and consequently, it makes the year before the one in which a king died, the last year of that king's reign. Moreover, it makes E. N. 226 (B. C. 522) the last regnal year of Cambyses, and E. N. 227 (B. C. 521) the first regnal year of Darius; omitting all mention of the Magian reign. Now, if Darius in fact slew Gaumâta in the eighth Assyrian month (or the Julian November) of B. C. 522, it will follow that the year E. N. 226 (or B. C. 522) instead of being set down as the last regnal year of Cambyses, should have been assigned in Ptolemy's Canon to Darius as his first, according to the method followed in the Canon of dealing with a year which belonged, part of it to a former and part to a succeeding monarch. Either, then, we must impute error to the Canon, or we must conclude, that Cambyses died, the Magian came to the throne, and Darius succeeded the Magian, at dates ten months later respectively than we have hitherto supposed. But to adopt the first of these alternatives, knowing no more than we do, would be an absurd piece of perverseness. Therefore, on the authority of Ptolemy's Canon, we now place the accession of the pretended Smerdis at about April, and that of Darius son of Hystaspes at about November, in

B. C. 521 or E. N. 227. And so it will appear, that Cambyses must have died in May or June of the same year, that is, five or six months after the close of the last year of Nabonassar assigned by the Canon to his reign. The other Behistun dates will follow in their order, at points later by ten months than where they stand in our first table.

It also follows, that the eight years assigned to Cambyses by Herodotus, the last of which ended with the seventh of the Magian's eight months of reign, commenced at a point later by ten months than the one from which are counted the eight years of Nabonassar given to Cambyses in the Canon. Consequently, these eight years end three months before the Magian's usurpation; which three months, with the whole eight of the Magian, are included in the first of the ensuing thirty-six years of Nabonassar given in the Canon to Darius. Again, these thirty-six years end ten months before the expiration of the equal number of years assigned to the reign of Darius by Herodotus: so that the first year of the reign of Xerxes began with the year E. N. 263 (at 23 Dec. B. C. 486) according to the Canon, while from Herodotus's statement, founded (as we conclude) on the Babylonian reckoning, we must suppose that it was not held to have begun at Babylon till "eighth month" or Markhesvan (say November) B. C. 485. The like difference of commencement between the reckoning of Ptolemy's Canon and the Babylonian registration of regnal years, may be presumed to continue in respect of the succeeding reigns at Babylon. We seem to find it signally manifested at last in the difference of commencement between the Seleucidan era of the Greeks and the Seleucidan era of the Chaldæans. By both computations, the era began with the month called Dius by the Greeks and Markhesvan by the Syrians; but this month was according to the Greeks in B. C. 512, whereas according to the Chaldæans it was in B. C. 511.[s]

[s] See Clinton's F. H. vol. 3 pp. 367–371 (ed. 1830): By this time, B. C. 312–11, the Egyptian years of the era of Nabonassar, at a quarter of a day annually, had receded fifty-two days since the accession of Darius

It was in the interval between these two dates that Seleucus, after the victory gained by his protector Ptolemy the satrap of Egypt at Gaza over the forces of Antigonus commanded by Demetrius son of Antigonus, had recovered his satrapy of Babylonia and had thereto annexed Susiana and Media; and it seems to have been in the same interval that the young king Alexander, son of the great Alexander by Roxana, was murdered by order of the satrap of Macedonia, Cassander, after a nominal reign of twelve years; during seven of which Aridæus Philip had, jointly with the child his nephew, the title of king. The year in course of which Seleucus came to his independent dominion was counted to him as his first year on the principle followed in the Canon of Ptolemy; but, at Babylon, this was the last year of Alexander son of Roxana, and Seleucus's first year was not held to be begun till the next year arrived.[t]

We must further conclude, that by the Chaldæan reckoning all the reigns, up to Nabonassar's own, that we find preceding the reign of Cambyses in Ptolemy's Canon (if the same respective numbers of years were assigned to them at Babylon) were counted from the Markhesvan or

son of Hystaspes; so that the difference between the Egyptian and Chaldæan reckonings of regnal years was now swelled to nearly twelve months.

[t] The defeat of Gaza happened in the year which began with the 117th celebration of the Olympic games and in which Polemon was archon at Athens, that is, between midsummer B. C. 312 and midsummer B. C. 311; see Diodor. xix. 77–80. The season was winter; for Demetrius's troops were mustered to oppose Ptolemy's invasion of Syria, from their winter quarters; Diodor. xix. 80. The recovery of Babylonia by Seleucus (Diod. xix. 90, 91) must be placed in B. C. 311, and perhaps three months after the battle. While Seleucus was thus successful on the Euphrates and Tigris, Demetrius recovered Syria for his father, and made the expedition to "Petra of the Nabathæans," and afterwards, while Seleucus was in Media, an inroad into Babylonia. In the following Olympian year, when Simonides was archon at Athens (that is, after midsummer B. C. 311) peace was concluded between Antigonus on one side, and on the other Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy; and the young Alexander with his mother Roxana was assassinated by order of Cassander; Diod. xix. 105.

November that followed the commencement of their first year in the Ptolemæan Canon. For example, the first year of Evil Merodakh began on the first day of Markhesvan B. C. (521 + 8 + 9 + 17 + 4 + 2 =) 561 by Chaldæan registration instead of with E. N. 187 (that is, on the 11th day of January B. C. 561) as reckoned in the Manual Table of Ptolemy: so that this king's release of Jeconiah king of Judah on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month in the thirty-seventh year of Jeconiah's captivity seems to have happened in the previous Adar (or March); that is, seven months or more before the beginning of the first year called Evil-Merodakh's, in registers at Babylon. In other words, the release of Jeconiah happened in the last year registered as Nebukhadrezzar's though after the Great King's death. But if so, the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, which was the first alike of Daniel's and of the seventy years' captivity (as well as, by the reckoning of the Jews though not of the Chaldæans, the first regnal year of Nebukhadrezzar) began with the Jewish Civil year B. C. (561 + 37 + 8 =) 606.[u] In fact, the year of Evil-Merodakh's beginning to reign,[v] was not the first year of his own reign, but the last of his predecessor's, according to the assignment of regnal years in the annals of Babylon. This method preserved the remainder of the year in which a king had died, to the sum of his regnal years; instead of giving it, along with the

[u] Observe, that the thirty-seventh year of Jeconiah's captivity was the forty-fifth of Daniel's, and of the predicted seventy years' captivity: for the first year of both these was the fourth regnal year of Jeconiah's father Jehoiakim, whose eleven years' reign was a vassalage, first for three years to Pharaoh Nekho, then for eight years to Nebukhadrezzar. For Jehoiakim was taken with Jerusalem which he held for Nekho, in the third year of his reign: see Dan. i. 1 and Jerem. xxv. 1.

[v] See 2 Kings xxv. 27 where the expression בִּשְׁנַת מַלְכוֹ is rendered in the Septuagint ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, and explained in the English Vulgate, "in the year that he began to reign." More literally it may be rendered ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τοῦ βασιλεύειν αὐτόν, "in the year of his reigning." Add Jerem. lii. 31 where the expression is בִּשְׁנַת מַלְכוֹ "in the year of his reign." We have here the twenty-fifth instead of the twenty-seventh day of the month for the date.

preceding portion, as a first year to his successor, after the method of Ptolemy's Canon. The custom is displayed in the most evident manner, in those annals of the earlier part of his reign, which Sennacherib has left us on an hexagonal clay prism found at Koyunjik (Nineveh) in 1830 and generally known as Taylor's Cylinder. Sennacherib has here recorded his acts in order, under the following successive heads; 1. "In the beginning of my reign;" 2. "In my first year;" 3. "In my second year;" 4. "In my third year;" 5. "In my fourth year;" 6. "In my fifth year;" 7. "In my sixth year;" 8. "In my seventh year;" 9. "In my eighth year." [w] The same method was employed by the annalists of the kings of the house of David at Jerusalem.[x]

[w] See *Assyrian texts translated*, by H. F. Talbot Esq. No. ii. in Journal R. A. S. vol. xix. pp. 135–181.

[x] This conclusion of our's is confirmed by what we read of Hezekiah's first regnal year, 2 Chron. xxix. 3, and of Josiah's eighteenth in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8 &c., xxxv. 1–19; also, 2 Kings xxii. 3 &c., xxiii. 21–23. Above, in the text we have added the thirty-seventh year of Jeconiah's captivity (2 Kings xxv. 27, Jerem. lii. 31) to the last eight of his father Jehoiakim's eleven regnal years, in order to find the year then current of the seventy years and Daniel's captivity. This supposes two things. It supposes first, that the years of Jeconiah's captivity were con-numerary with the regnal years of Zedekiah, so far as these last extend. And this appears plainly from the comparison of 2 Kings xxv. 1, Jerem. xxxix. 1, and Jerem. lii. 4 on the one side, with Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2 on the other, as the last text is explained by the previous passages, Ezek. i. 2, viii. 1, xx. 1, and (among subsequent ones) by this especially, Ezek. xl. 1. The second thing supposed is, that the series of Zedekiah's regnal years are a continuation of the same series as that of Jehoiakim's regnal years; or briefly, that Jehoiakim's and Zedekiah's regnal years form a single series. And this appears from the fact, that the annalists of Judah counted the fourth and eleventh of Jehoiakim to be the first and eighth regnal years of Nebukhadrezzar, while they also count the tenth and eleventh of Zedekiah to be the eighteenth and nineteenth regnal years of Nebukhadrezzar; Jerem. xxv. 1, xxxii. 1, lii. 5–12, 2 Kings xxv. 2–8; also, 2 Kings xxiv. 12. And it is to be noted (since Zedekiah's first year is the very next to Jehoiakim's last year) that either the hundred days that Jeconiah reigned in succession to Jehoiakim his father, are included by the annalists in one of these two years, or they are divided between them; just as the Magian's

We will take another and earlier first year of reign, from Ptolemy's Canon (or Manual Table of reigns, Assyrian and Mede, at Babylon), in order to exemplify our conclusion, that by the Chaldæan reckoning each reign on the Table began with the Markhesvan, or second Tisri next after the point of its commencement by the Egyptian reckoning of Ptolemy. The twelve years assigned to Mardok Empadus, (the Merodakh Baladan of the Assyrian annals) began, according to the Canon of Ptolemy, with E. N. 27 on the 20th of February B. C. 721. But, by the Chaldæan Tables, this period must have begun with "Eighth Month" or Markhesvan next ensuing; say, 1 November B. C. 721, one month later than the civil year of Judah that began in the same year of Nabonassar, and in the same year before Christ. Now, from the fragments of the annals of Sargon king of Assyria, it is found

eight months were divided and seven of them, completing the eighth regnal year of Cambyses, allotted to that king's reign, while the eighth beginning a new regnal year, was reputed by the Chaldæan annalists, part of the first year of Darius.

But it is further evident, that Jehoiakim's regnal years follow his father Josiah's in the same series: for, from the thirteenth year of Josiah who reigned thirty-one years, to the fourth year of Jehoiakim whom Pharaoh Nekho put on the throne in the room of Josiah his father, is a space of twenty-three years according to Jeremiah xxv. 1–3. Therefore, the last year counted to Josiah is a whole year, and the first also of Jehoiakim a whole year, and the three months that Jehoahaz reigned, whom the people had made their king after the battle at Megiddo and his father Josiah's death, are regarded as we have seen the hundred days of Jeconiah to be.

Thus, from the thirteenth of Josiah's reign to the thirty-seventh of Jeconiah's captivity which would have been the thirty-seventh of Zedekiah's reign, is plainly a series of sixty-seven calendar years. But, if calender years, they are years of the civil calendar of Judah, which commenced with the seventh Mosaic month (Tisri) and nearly at the autumn equinox. For, an event in the fifth month (Ab) Jeremiah uses to mark the close of Zedekiah's eleventh year; see Jerem. i. 3. And it appears that the ninth month (Khisleu) was in the early part of Jehoiakim's fifth year; see Jerem. xxxvi. 1, 9. Besides which, the passages cited at the outset of this note shew, that Josiah's regnal years (and Hezekiah's also) were already current when the commencement of the ecclesiastical year arrived.

by the decipherers and translators, that the first year of this king's reign was the year in which the city of Samaria was taken and its people carried off by the Assyrians; and withal the first year of twelve during which Merodakh Baladan reigned at Babylon.[y] But, from the annals of Judah in Hebrew Scripture we learn, that Samaria was thus taken by the Assyrians in the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah.[z] Counting backward from the last year of Hezekiah, this sixth year becomes the twenty-fourth, and—with the sum of the periods of years given to Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah, the kings intervening between Hezekiah and Jehoiakim; also with the first three years of Jehoiakim—if added to the date already found for the fourth year of Jehoiakim, 1 Tisri (October) B. C. 606, it gives the year before Christ wherein Hezekiah's sixth regnal year commenced. Now, this being done, we find that Hezekiah's sixth year, if a civil year of Judah, began 1 Tisri (say 1 October B. C. (24 + 55 + 2 + 31 + 3 + 1 Tisri B. C. 606 =) 721.[a] So that the year in which Samaria was taken, was a year of Judah beginning 1 October B. C. 721, or a year of Babylon beginning 1 Nov. B. C. 721; exactly two centuries before our Darius's reign.

Before we quit this part of the subject, we will revert to the date of the outset of the seventy years' captivity of Judah at Babylon. This (as Jeremiah and Daniel plainly testify) was the fourth regnal year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, and the position of this year we have been able to find in the series of Julian years before Christ. For, by adding the previous years of captivity, in number (8 + 37 =)

[y] As to the fact, that Merodakh-Baladan's regnal years at Babylon were connumerary as far as they went, with those of Sargon at Nineveh, a statement is quoted made by Sargon, that in his own twelfth year he drove Merodakh Baladan out of Babylon, after he had reigned twelve years. See Rawlinson's Herod. vol. i. p. 472 where also it is affirmed, that Sargon relates how he took Samaria in his first year and carried into captivity 27,280 families.

[z] 2 Kings xviii. 1–11.

[a] See 2 Chron. xxix. 1, xxxiii. 1, xxxiii. 21, xxxiv. 1, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5, with Jerem. xxv. 1, and Dan. i. 1. The parallel places in 2 Kings may be added.

45, to the number of the first day of the first year of Evil Merodakh king of Babylon as obtained from Ptolemy's Canon (after adjustment of its reigns to the Chaldæan method of registration), that is to say, by prefixing forty-five years to 1 Nov. B. C. 561, we find this fourth year of Jehoiakim or first year of the captivity, to be the civil year which began at Jerusalem with the seventh month (Tisri) or (say) with the Roman October B. C. 606; one month earlier than the Chaldæan regnal year. Now, this same regnal year of Judah, the fourth of Jehoiakim, is regarded by the annalists and contemporary prophets of Judah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as the first regnal year of Jehoiakim's new master, Nebukhadrezzar the Chaldæan, who had taken Jerusalem before the expiration of the third year of Jehoiakim. But (according to Ptolemy's Canon and also the Chaldæan historian Berosus) Nebukhadrezzar's reign at Babylon was forty-three years only, not forty-five, namely the forty-three next before Evil-Merodakh's first year which commenced (as has been said) with the eighth month Markhesvan or second Tisri (say 1 Nov.) B. C. 561. That is, the reign of Nebukhadrezzar as reckoned in the annals at Babylon, began 1 Nov. B. C. 604. The truth is this: the two previous years on their Tables, which with the Jews were the first and second of Nebukhadrezzar, were with the Chaldæans the last two of Nebukhadrezzar's father Nabopolassar. And, accordingly, the defeat of Pharaoh Nekho by Nebukhadrezzar at Karkhemish on the Euphrates in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (B. C. 605) is clearly, that chastisement by Nebukhadrezzar of the contumacious satrap of Egypt, Syria, and Phœnicia, which Berosus chronicles as having happened, before the death of Nabopolassar, while his son Nebukhadrezzar commanded his army for him abroad.[b]

[b] Jerem. xlvi. 2 (comparing 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, 2 Kings xxiii. 29, xxiv. 7) and Berosus, as cited by Josephus, *Antiq.* x. 11 § 1; and *cont. Apion.* i. 19. We must place the death of Nabopolassar which occurred while his son Nebukhadrezzar was abroad, also the return and actual accession of Nebukhadrezzar to the throne ("the beginning of his reign") in the year counted to Nabopolassar as his twenty-first in B. C. 604 before November.

But that there is no omission or interpolation of years on either side, either with the Jewish or the Chaldæan annalists, is undeniable when we compare the Hebrew and the Chaldæan computations of the whole interval between the beginning of the year in which Samaria was taken by the Assyrians and the beginning of the first regnal year of Evil-Merodakh at Babylon. By the Chaldæan account this interval consists of thirteen regnal and inter-regnal periods of years (12 + 5 + 2 + 3 + 6 + 1 + 4 + 8 + 13 + 20 + 22 + 21 + 43) stated in Ptolemy's Canon and amounting altogether to 160 years. On the other hand, according to the Hebrew annals, the interval is one of a remainder of a reign, four whole reigns and one royal captivity (24 + 55 + 2 + 31 + 11 + 37) which put together likewise amount to 160 years. Between the two reckonings the only difference is, not one of length, but this, that the annalists of Judah begin the interval with the first day of the seventh month, Tisri, and end it with the last day of the sixth month, Elul; whereas the Chaldæans begin and end it a month later.

In bringing this dissertation to an end, we will add a few observations in connection with the second of the above-exhibited schemes of Darius's Behistun dates, which is the one we abide by as the maturer view of the matter.

First, it is to be noted, that of the two dates offered as alternatives at the head of each of the six twelve-month tables, it is the latter which our subsequent discussion has led us to adopt for the true year. The six columns, then, of months, belong to the years B. C. 521, 520, 519, 518, 517 and 516 respectively.

Next, we would remark, there are two month-names, (Adukanish [c] in the third year, and Markazana [d] in the

[c] This name was not deciphered in the Aryan text on the rock, till after the copy of the inscription given in the R. A. S.'s Journal vol. x. had been lithographed. See page iii. of Sir H. C. Rawlinson's Note dated 1 Feb. 1850, and appended to part second of vol. xii. of the Journal when first issued.

[d] According to the Kissian orthography of the Aryan name, which is lost in the Aryan text.

sixth), for the position of which the Behistun record itself furnishes no evidence more than this, that each belongs to a place between Thaigarchish the second month and Bágayádish the eighth month. The reasons which determine us to place them where we do, will be given hereafter.

Lastly, we would allow ourselves a few words on the etymology of some of the names. We had thought that the first element of the name Garmapada connected the month with mid-summer, as if the name had originated in a more northerly latitude than that of Persepolis (30 deg. N.). The season at which (as it now appears) the month was fixed (April), may be considered the commencement of the hot season, or "stage of heat" which seems to be the signification of Garmapada.[e] Again, Anámaka has been explained "Nameless" and supposed the correspondent of the "Un-named" and intercalary month of India.[f] Possibly, it was the point whereat intercalation was made (as was perhaps, in the Assyrio-Babylonian calendar, the eighth month; which alone, as we have seen, was noted merely by number and not by name). But Anámaka could not be itself intercalary because (as the Table shows) it is found in successive years. Formerly, when we supposed this month to correspond nearly with our March (though in reality, as now we find, it corresponds rather with January) we were strongly disposed to interpret its name New Month, the meaning which belonged to *Mâh-nau*, the name by which, on the eve of

[e] Of the meanings assigned to the Sanscrit *pada* as a word in the Marathi language, in Molesworth's Dictionary p. 605 there are these—Foot, footstep, post, rank or station, (compare "*grade*") the root of a square or cube number, the fourth part of a circle, place or site. As used in Hindustani, also, we find some of these meanings attached to it, in Forbes's Hind. Dictionary p. 119. *Garmya* is said to be Sanskrit for "heat," and *garm* Zend for the same. So Sir H. C. Rawlinson on Garmapada in Journal R. A. S. vol. xi. p. 130. In Hindustani we have *garm* "warm" and *Garmi* "heat" or "warmth" regarded as Persian words; Forbes, p. 437.

[f] See Sir H. C. Rawlinson on this name, in his unfinished Ancient Persian Vocabulary; Journal R. A. S. vol. xi. p. 19.

the Arab conquest, or before that conquest was completed, on a reformation of the calendar under Yezdegherd, the last Sassanian monarch of Persia, the first month of the new year was distinguished. Lastly, in regard of the month which we then supposed to coincide nearly with April, though it is found now to have coincided rather with February, that is, Thuravâhara, we were strongly inclined to see its meaning in two casually acquired words of the modern language of Persia, *Dur* and *Bahar*, which must have existed or had their cognate forms in the old language, because we find them in the Greek θυρα and ἔαρ or more anciently ϝεαρ. Of these terms, the former has its cognate equivalent in the English *Door;* the latter in the Latin *Ver*. And this interpretation of Thuravâhara, *Door of spring*, seemed warranted by the fact, that, among the seemingly short-lived changes in the Calendar introduced in the reign of Yezdegherd, the name *Nau Bahar*, signifying "New Spring," was given to the second month.[g] Nor are we obliged to surrender our conjecture yet. For the spring quarter in the latitude of Persepolis may fairly be taken to begin with February.

VII.

In Darius's Behistun inscription, we have recognized a Calendar year, adopted (as it would seem) by the Aryan conquerors, from the practice of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires. Another measure of time there is, which we must not leave out of sight, but must bring before the reader, though our notice of it will be imperfect, if only to suggest his resort to sources of information unapproached by ourselves. The Magian year, then, we should guess to be the measure of time in use among the Kissians; and, therefore, especially at Susa; whether the Magi (who certainly were not of Aryan race) belonged more properly to the Kissian or to the Elamite population of the country called by Greek geographers Susiana.

[g] See Hyde *De relig. vet. Persarum;* pp. 195, 196.

That the Kissian measurement of time, was the Magian, seems a theory confirmed rather than disproved by the fact that the Aryan names of the Assyrio-Babylonian months are used in the Kissian text of the Behistun inscription. For this must have been done because there were no suitable Kissian appellations of those months; and no other appropriate foreign nomenclature, like the Assyrian, had been yet naturalized. We presume, that this ancient kingdom, which (not to go back to the days of Abraham) had of late constituted a great figure among the nations, while long and obstinately in the seventh and sixth centuries before our era, it resisted, first the Assyrian, then the Chaldæan conquerors, had its own reckoning of time and its vernacular names of months. We add that these Kissian month-names (though possibly cognate with those of the old Akkad population of Babylonia, as yet undeciphered) must have been for some cause or other inapplicable to the Assyrio-Babylonian months.

Or, more boldly, we say that (except by chance) no Kissian month could coincide exactly with an Assyrio-Babylonian month; so that the days of the one should from first to last be con-numerary with the days of the other. The months of the Assyrio-Babylonian calendar appear to have been lunar; for the Syrian and Jewish months, to which in latter times the Assyrian nomenclature was applied, were certainly lunar; the Syrian, in an after age at least; the Jewish, both before and after the adoption of the Assyrian names. Wherefore, it would seem, the Kissian calendar months were not lunar. No more were the months of the Magian year. Here, then, immediately, does some justification arise upon enquiry, of what was a mere conjecture at first, that the Kissian was the Magian year. A greater degree of probability accrues, when we consider the subsequent use of the Magian year by the Persians, whose chief seat of empire was the Kissian capital.

The Magian year was "equable" and "vague." Like the proper Egyptian year, it consisted invariably of 365 days; and consequently the commencement of every new

year receded one quarter of a day, according to the Alexandrian calculation, from the point in the solar circle (or rather in the earth's orbit) at which the previous new year's day began. So that 1460 Magian years fell behind, or short of, so many Alexandrian or Julian years by 365 days; and 1461 Magian were only equal to 1460 Julian years. With the Magi, as with the priesthood of Egypt, the 365 days furnished twelve months with thirty days apiece, and allowed five days besides for the difference of duration between 360 natural days and one whole revolution of the earth around the sun, or (as this was regarded) the sun's circuit through the twelve constellations of the zodiac, and the 360 degrees into which this circle of constellations was divided.

However, these last five days, being a rest allowed, after twelve months of thirty days' length each, to rectify or make up for the over-hasty lapse of those months, the year was still considered (as in some Egyptian calculations we find it likewise [a]) to consist of 360 days, just as the

[a] In G. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 285, Sir J. G. Wilkinson cites an Apis stela recording that an Apis born the 19th of Mekhir, the sixth month, or the ($5 \times 30 + 19 =$) 169th day of the fifty-third year of Psammetikhus I. (who reigned fifty-four years according to Herodotus and Manetho) died aged sixteen years seven months and seventeen days on the 6th of the second month Paopi, or the thirty-sixth day of the sixteenth year of Psammetikhus's son and successor Nekho. Now, if we reckon this bull to have lived 365–169 or the last 196 days, that is, the last six months and sixteen days, of the fifty-third year of Psammetikhus, we shall make his age at death to have been sixteen years seven months and twenty-two days, instead of the sixteen years seven months and seventeen days stated by the monument. According to the stela, then, he lived but 360–169, or the last 191 days, that is, the last six months and eleven days, of the fifty-third year of Psammetikhus; this year (and of course every other regnal year) being considered to contain only 360 days. Sir J. G. Wilkinson concludes, that the year of the annals did really consist of but 360 days; but we venture to prefer our own explanation that the five supplementary days were considered due to the previous months. The Arabs call these days *Mustâraka*, that is, "furtive;" and such they would be if for certain purposes passed by unnoted: see Hyde *de Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 189. The earliest Greek or Latin notice of the Egyptian year of 365 days only, Herod ii. 4, is this

Zodiacal circle consisted of 360 degrees. Thus in the statement furnished by Herodotus of the yearly tributes, at which the satrapies of Darius's empire in Asia and Libya were assessed, we have several indications that, for the matter of revenue at least, the year was held to consist of 360 days. We are expressly told, that the 360

Πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ἐξευρέειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, δυώδεκα μέρεα δασάμενους τῶν ὡρέων ἐς αὐτόν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρέειν ἐκ τῶν ἄστρων ἔλεγον·

(then, after describing the inferior method of intercalation used by the Greeks with their lunar years)

Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δυώδεκα μῆνας, ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· καὶ σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὡρέων ἐς ταὐτὸ περιϊὼν παραγίνεται.

From this last assertion, that the seasons by the addition of the five days to the 360 came round to the same point, as well as from the statement that it was from the stars the Egyptians had found out the period of the year, Sir J. G. Wilkinson justly concludes that the discovery went further than the production of the common civil year, with which alone Herodotus was acquainted. To shew that the Egyptians in Herodotus's time (and much earlier) possessed a more accurate measurement of the year than that of 365 days, extolled by Herodotus, he adduces the testimony of Diodorus, who visited Egypt in the year of the 180th Olympic festival, which began at Midsummer B. C. (776–(179 × 4)=) 60, that is, thirty years before the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, and fourteen years before the reformation of the Roman Calendar by Julius Cæsar's man of science, Sosigenes. (see Diod. i. 44, 83 and Suetonius Vit. C. Jul. Cæsar. cap. 54, cited after Wesseling by Clinton). Diodorus states (i. 50) that "the people of Thebes (in Upper Egypt) declared the discovery of exact astronomy, to have been first made by men among them; the clearness of their atmosphere favouring exact observations of the risings and settings of the stars; and that their arrangement of months and years was peculiar to themselves. For their days (as Diodorus explains) they do not keep (ἄγουσι) by moon, but by the sun; making their months to consist of thirty days; and over and above the twelve months, they keep (ἐπάγουσι) five days and a quarter part; and in this manner they fill up the yearly circle; but intercalary months they do not keep, nor do they subtract days, as do most of the Greeks." Again, Sir J. G. Wilkinson adduces Strabo who visited Thebes in company with the Roman præfect of Egypt, Ælius Gallus in B. C. 25, and who did not the least dispute the pretensions of the astronomers of Thebes, in behalf of Greeks or Romans, but relates that "their plan was to keep their days not by moon but by sun, while, over and above the twelve thirty-day months, they kept five days every year; and in order to fill up the whole of the year, as there was a certain fraction of the day in excess, they made up a certain period of whole days and whole years, just so many in number as were those

white horses paid by the Cilicians, were one for every day in the year; and we find that 140 talents being deducted, which was the sum paid for a cavalry police in the province, their tribute of 500 talents in silver became a remittance of 360 talents a year to the treasury at Susa. So, too, the third and twelfth on Herodotus's list of

fractions in excess, which when joined together made a day." He adds, "All invention of this sort, they attribute to Hermes" (Thoth); Strabo xvii. 1 § 46. Before this, at Heliopolis, where another Greek of the Roman prefect's company, Khærémon (the contemptible character of whose Egyptian history is shewn by Josephus *cont. Apion.* i. 32, 33) had exposed himself to the derision of all by his scientific pretences, Strabo had told us how Eudoxus and Plato were said to have long waited upon the priests, in that city; and to have contrived to extract from "the barbarians" some little of the fruit of their speculations; so as, on their authority, to be able to deliver what were the fractions "of the day and of the night" exceeding the 365 days, and filling up the year's time. Nevertheless, the year, he adds, was meanwhile unknown to the Greeks, (like many other things) till later astronomers got into their hands, from those who translated the same into Greek, the memoranda or notes of observations (ὑπομνήματα) of the priests. And to this day (adds Strabo) they still get into their possession what comes from those priests; likewise, what belongs to the Chaldæans. Strabo, xvii. 1 § 29. After this, it was unnecessary for Sir J. G. Wilkinson to cite Macrobius *Saturn.* i. 18, for two express testimonies that in regulating the Roman year according to the sun, "which completes its course in $365\frac{1}{4}$ days," Julius Cæsar only followed the Egyptians. (See Sir J. G. Wilkinson in *Anc. Eg.* vol. iv. pp. 12–19 and pp. 372–377 where he extracts from his previous *Materia Hieroglyphica, Appendix No.* 1.) But he cites Horapollo as telling us expressly in his *Hieroglyphica* that the Egyptian Sothic year (the 1460th part of the Sothic period) was called the "square year," from the intercalation of the quarter day, or one day at the end of every four years, and was distinguished in Hieroglyphic writing by a square in place of the circle that formed part of the ordinary sign for a year. In his appendix to the second Book of Herodotus (in Rawlinson's edition) he cites from Pliny ii. 47 the term "annus quadratus," applied to this (as he calls it) the Sothic year, the constant commencement of which seems to have been the heliacal rising of Sothis or the Dog-Star, on the 20th of July, when the overflow of the Nile began; though the hieroglyphic representation of the three τετράμηνοι, or four-month seasons of plants, harvest, and waters, respectively, seems to refer to a time (probably of greatest antiquity) when the year began in November, like that Chaldæan year by which, as we have discerned, the reigns of kings were reckoned at Babylon.

satrapies, provinces at the opposite extremities of the empire, paid alike 360 talents of silver every year. Again, the Hindus of the twentieth satrapy were rated at 360 talents of gold-dust yearly.[b]

But though the year was thus described as a circle of 360 days, it did in fact consist as we have said of 365 days; not only in the latter times to which we may confine the retrospect of writers, Persian and Arabic, of the post-Sassanian or Mahommedan period, but under the old Akhæmenian dynasty also. This fact appears from the historians of the Macedonian conquest. Thus, instead of 360 stades given by Artaxerxes Mnemon's medical attendant Ktesias, some of Alexander's followers, and Kleitarkhus in particular, substituted 365 stades for the circumference of the walls of Babylon. Now, assuredly, neither Ktesias nor Kleitarkhus had measured this compass, but both had heard, what the latter expressly declares, a statement that, of that measure of length they chose to call a stade, the multiple which expressed the length of the walls of Babylon was equal to the number of days in a year. And to this statement, sometimes at least, it was added that, so long as the work of fortification lasted, one of these stades had been finished every day.[c] But that

[b] See above p. 170. In A. D. 1071 Alp Arslan, the second Seljukian Sultan, gave peace and his liberty to the defeated and captive Greek emperor Romanus Diogenes, for a ransom of a million and an annual tribute of 360,000 pieces of gold; see Gibbon.

[c] See Diodorus ii. 7 § 3:

περιεβάλετο (ἡ Σεμίραμις) τεῖχος τῇ πόλει, σταδίων ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων διειλημμένον πύργοις πυκνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος· ὡς δὲ Κλείταρχος καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τινὲς ἀνέγραψαν τριακοσίων ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε σταδίων· καὶ προστιθέασιν ὅτι τῶν ἴσων ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸν ἰνιαυτὸν οὐσῶν ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν τῶν σταδίων ὑποστήσασθαι.

For τῶν ἴσων, one might like to substitute τοσαύτων. The circumference by Curtius v. 1 § 26 is made according to most MSS 368 stades; probably because in his Greek author (perhaps Kleitarkhus himself) he or his reader mistook, or in making Curtius's copy the scribe had before mistaken, or substituted unintentionally, the one Greek E for the other; that is ε which as a numeral is 5 for η which is 8. But other MSS of Curtius's work have 468, 363 and 372, and Zumpt arguing from the last clause of the sentence, that the error was not Curtius's but that of his copyists, prints the sentence thus: "Totius operis ambitus ccclxv

the number of days in a year, according to the Magians and their Persian disciples, was 365, we are in express terms informed by Curtius (who here probably does but transcribe Kleitarkhus) in the description of the march of Darius Codomannus's army. He here relates; "The Magi were followed by three hundred sixty and five youths, muffled in ruddy-coloured cloaks, in number equal to the days of the year; for with the Persians likewise, the year was divided into just so many days." [d]

The use among the Magi of this invariable year of 365 days, according to post-Sassanian writers was immemorial; or (to use their own expression) it had existed "since the reign of Jemshid." Indeed, we might suppose that with that tribe, as among the Egyptians, it was of antediluvian tradition, when we observe that five successive months in the 600th year of Noah's life are recorded by Moses to have contained together, just as they would in an Egyptian or Magian year, 150 days; that is, thirty days a-piece. Nevertheless, the length of the solar year may have been known as exactly in the earliest as in later times; [e] and for some purposes at least, or with some

stadia complectitur: singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse memoriæ proditum est." We will add that (according to twelve out of Zumpt's fourteen MS authorities) Curtius's height of the wall of Babylon is not C as commonly printed but L cubits. Thus, in reality, he agreed with those writers more recent than Ktesias, who stated the height, not at fifty ὀργυιαί, like Ktesias, but fifty πήχεις, Diod. ii. 7. § 4.

[d] Curtius iii. 3 § 10.

[e] Besides what has been adduced, in respect of the Egyptian knowledge, in a former note: add as to the Chinese, the foot-notes in G. Pauthier's edition of the *Shoo-king*, on part 1 chap. 1 verse 8; and consult pp. 4–8 of the matter introductory; that is to say, sections iv–vi of that which has been borrowed from the Père Ganbil and stands first. In the text of the Shoo-king, according to Ganbil's translation, in chap. i. ver. 3–8 we have the following: "Yao ordonna à ses ministres Hi et Ho de respecter le Ciel Suprême et suivre exactement et avec attention les règles pour la supputation de tous les mouvements des astres, du soleil, et de la lune; et de faire connaitre au peuple les temps et les saisons par la rédaction du calendrier. Il ordonna particulièrement à Hi-tchong d'aller à la vallée brillante de Yu-y et d'y observer le lever du soleil afin de régler ce qui se fait au printemps. L'égalité du jour et de la nuit et

orders of men, the year may have been fixed, as for all purposes it began to be a little before our era at Alexandria, by the intercalation of a sixth supplementary or "furtive" day at the end of the last year of every group of four.

According to the Magian theology, as we find it represented in post-Sassanian times, God created the heavens, and the waters, and the earth, and the trees, and the animals, and man, in six times of forty-five, sixty, seventy-five, thirty, eighty and seventy-five days respectively; each time being (it seems) in its number of days a certain multiple of five, and all the times together making up 365 days or one whole Magian year. We have already had occasion to remark that a week of five days appears to have been in use among the Persians; and if so, it may be referred to Magian lore. The observance of those six seasons of the year, originally ordained (as it is said) by king Jemshid who was taught of God, is enjoined, as the first of the six essential good works, by the Zoroastrian or Magian book Sad-der;[f] and it was discharged by an

l'observation de l'astre Niao font juger du milieu du printemps. . . . Hi-chou eut ordre d'aller à Nan-kiao et d'y régler les changements qu'on voit en été. La longueur du jour et l'observation de l'astre Ho font juger du milieu de l'été. . . . Il fut particulièrement prescrit à Ho-tchong d'aller dans la vallée obscure de l'occident pour suivre et observer avec respect le coucher du soleil, et régler ce qui s'achève en automne. L'égalité du jour et de la nuit et l'observation de l'astre Hiu font juger du milieu de l'automne. . . . Ho-chou eut ordre d'aller au nord à Yeou-tou pour disposer ce qui regarde les changements produits par l'hiver. La brièveté du jour et l'observation de l'astre Mao font juger du milieu de l'hiver. . . . L'empereur dit: Hi et Ho une période solaire est de trois cent soixante-six jours; en intercalant une lune et en déterminant ainsi quatre saisons, l'année se trouvera exactement complétée. Cela étant parfaitement réglé, chaque fonctionaire s'acquittera selon le temps et la saison de son emploi, et tout sera dans le bon ordre." The age of the emperor Yao was the twenty-third or twenty-fourth century before our era. The purpose of the above-cited orders appears to have been analogous to that of a house-wife in giving directions for the regulation and winding up of the clock.

[f] See *Sad-der* cap. 6; Hyde p. 452. In cap. 94 there is a detailed account of all six sorts. The second is the observance of the *Fervardaghân*. The third is to remember the souls of father, mother, and other relations. The fourth, to celebrate the sun thrice a day. The fifth, to make a

annual feast of five days at the commencement of each season. One might rather suppose the feast to have happened at the close of each, for all agree that the five supplementary days, at the end of the twelve thirty-day months, formed the festival in commemoration of the sixth and last season, the time of the creation of man.[g] Perhaps, this festival of confessed position, the last five days of the year, was older than all the others, and at first commemorated the five days' creation which (as we learn through Moses) preceded the creation of man. With the Mahommedans of Persia, the *Nauruz* is the greatest festival of the year, and lasts the first six days of the first month Fervardin, according to the civil calendar of Sultan Malek Shah Jelâleddîn; whose year being fixed to the circle of the seasons, and every fourth year (or nearly so) adding six instead of five furtive days to the twelve months, stands to the proper Magian (nearly) as the Alexandrian to the proper Egyptian year; though, unlike the Alexandrian year, it commences at the vernal equinox. But the sixth day of the festival is called *Nauruz-khassa*, "the peculiar new-day" of the year, while the first day's designation is but *Nauruz ámma*, "the common or general new day."[h]

celebration of the moon thrice a month; at beginning, middle, and end; 1. when you see it first, 2. in the fourteenth night, and 3. when it has so waned as to be scarcely visible. The sixth, to go once a year to the chief fire-temple to make intercession for oneself.

[g] See Hyde, *de Rel. Vet. Pers.* chap. 9.

[h] For this festival, see Hyde pp. 236, 237. He cites the *Farhangh Surûri* to shew that corresponding herewith in ante-Mahommedan times there was a Magian six-days' festival, made up of the five "furtive" days of the old year, supposed to follow the twelfth month Esfendârmâd, and of the first day of the New Year, which would be the first of the month Fervardîn. But at the time of the death of the last Sassanian king of Persia, Yezdegherd son of Shahrîyar, under a plan that had been adopted at a time when a month was ordered to be doubled or numbered twice in each Magian 120th year, and the furtive days to be subjoined to the month last doubled, the five "furtive" days intervened between the eighth month Abân and the ninth month Adur. And here they still are in the private reckoning of the "Ghebrs," as the Mahommedans call such as in Persia still adhere to the Magian or Zoroastrian religion:

We may suppose, that at the time of the graving of the Behistun inscription, and before the reform of Magianism attributed to its royal author (when he may have adopted

compare D. Forbes's Hind. Dict. p. 433 under *Gabr.* Here, too, along with the ensuing first day of Adur, they form a festival analogous to the Mahommedan Naurûz; though the first of Adur is not designated Naurûz but *Kûsa-nishîn*, that is, "the beardless sitter (on horseback)" by the Magians: see Hyde, pp. 237, 238, 249; and D. Forbes's Hind. Dict. pp. 427, 539, 547 under *khosa nishin* and *nau-roz*. Perhaps this beardless rider exhibits the new-arrived Adam.

Of the years of the new style in Persia introduced under the third Sultân of the Turkman house of Seljuk named Malek Shah Jelâleddîn—years commencing at the vernal equinox—the New year's day (or first day of the new Fervardîn) of the earliest, is stated to have been Friday the 15th of March A. D. 1079 Julian style. For it is described as the 15th of March in the year 1390 of the Greeks, that is, of the era of the Seleucidæ, which began $311\frac{1}{4}$ years before our era. The first of Fervardîn of the first year of Jelâleddîn, is also stated to have been the 19th of Fervardîn in the 448th of a previous series of years, the years of the era of Yezdegherd, each consisting invariably of 365 days. Now, if the era of Yezdegherd be counted to begin June $15\frac{1}{2}$ or at mid-day 16 June A. D. 632, the first day of the first year of Jelâleddîn's new style will begin at 6 p. m. 14 March and end at 6 p. m. 15 March A. D. 1079. Jelâleddîn's new first of Fervardîn (the 19th of Fervardîn according to the old calendar) was computed to be the day when the sun in his then declination north-ward reached the equinoctial line. It is also identified with the Mahommedan ninth day of Ramazan in the year of the Hejra 471. The commencement of the era of Jelâleddîn is fixed at these dates of Persian, Greek and Mahommedan reckoning by the Persian writer Shah Kholji in his *Universal Tables*, part ii. chap. 5, cited by Hyde pp. 207–209. That the era of Yezdegherd began at mid-day on Tuesday the first of Fervardîn,

ὁπηνίκα ὁ Ἰασδαζέρδης εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἐκάθισεν,

is stated by the Greek Chrysococca in his Persian Canons, cited by Hyde p. 184. In confirmation whereof we add what Pagi reports, tom. 2 p. 799. "Abulfeda Ismael hanc æram pluribus explicat in Diss. *De cognitione epocharum* c. 3 ubi ait principium hujus epochæ fuisse diem Martis initio anni quo primùm regnavit Yezdejerdes filius Shahliari." See Clinton on the year A. D. 632 in his *Fasti Romani*, Appendix chap. 1. where also (and in Appendix chap. 4. to vol. 3 of the *Fasti Hellenici*) we find the testimony of Ulug Beg as cited by Norisius in his *Annus et Epochæ Syro-Macedonum* p. 74. "Sciendum est quod epocha Græca prior sit . . . epochâ Persicâ diebus 344,324 . . . . . Hæc epocha (Græca) die lunæ, elapsis annis duodecim solaribus à morte Alexandri initium duxit. Ejus anni et menses sunt communes solares. Annus

it for the purposes of the Persian state) the Magian month names were different from those occurring in Mahommedan and Magian writings, and which have been in use ever since

ē 365 diebus cum quadrante diei præcisē constat." Now, from the beginning of Monday, Oct. 1, B. C. 312 (taken for the New-year's day of the thirteenth year solar after the death of Alexander) to mid-day 16 June A. D. 632 is exactly 344,324 days. But the year of the Seleucidan era was not such as Ulug Beg describes it, till the adoption of the Julian calendar; when the names of the Syro-Macedonian lunar months were applied to the solar months of the Roman year; and when at Antioch Hyperberetæus, the name of the Macedonian twelfth month, with the synonymous Syrian appellation *first Tisri*, were used to signify the Roman October.

The introduction of a month of thirty days in every 120th year, which the Magians seem to have first consented to under the Seleucidæ, originated in the same computation which the Alexandrian and Julian intercalation was built upon: namely, that the length of the natural year is 365 days and six hours exactly. The liturgical considerations which produced the Magian rule of intercalation, had weight with the Greek, but not in after times with the Mahommedan conquerors of a land where Magianism had so long predominated. These new rulers were free from scruples which forbade to intercalate a day at the end of every four years, and for their civil year might have followed the Alexandrian model, as did their Christian subjects the Armenians in the ecclesiastical reckoning of years. But the Sultân Malek Shah Jelâleddîn's advisers proposed to do better. The Alexandrian, which is the Julian style, made every fourth year to consist of 366 days invariably; but this was to make every four years something like forty-five minutes longer than the natural revolutions, the lapse of which they were employed to exhibit and record. The series of Julian years then elapsed was already equal to between eight and nine days of time more than it denoted. Therefore, for the New Style in Persia, the series of years having had its first day fixed to begin at sunset the 14th of March A. D. 1079, at a season when night and day were of equal length, it was ordered that intercalation of days should begin after the Alexandrian manner by subjoining a sixth furtive day to the end of every fourth year, "for seven or eight times;" but then for one turn only, the day was to be intercalated at the end of the fifth year. Here we must certainly understand alternate series of intercalations, first of one day after four years, for seven times, and then, of one day after four years for eight times; each series, however, being first followed by the intercalation of a day after the interval of five years. If so, eight days were intercalated first in thirty-three years; and then, nine days in thirty-seven years, so that, instead of thirty-five days, as by the Alexandrian style, there were thirty-four days only intercalated in 140 years.

A.D. 652, when the conquest of Persia by the Mahommedan Arabs was completed by the death of the last Sassanian monarch Yezdegherd III. the son of Shahriyar. Before Darius son of Hystaspes the Akhæmenian, they were probably still non-Aryan; perhaps akin (as to the language at least which supplied them) to those employed by the old Akkad race in Babylonia. But the present names are—

1. Fervardîn-mah.	5. Murdâd-mah.	9. Adur-mah.
2. Ardibehist-mah.	6. Shahrîvar-mah.	10. Degh-mah.
3. Khurdâd-mah.	7. Mihr-mah.	11. Behman-mah.
4. Tîr (or Tûr)-mah.	8. Abân-mah.	12. Esfendârmâd-mah.[i]

Each of these months—and each also of the cycle of thirty month-days—had its heavenly guardian. The thirty, however, included the twelve; for, besides his month, each president of a month had his own day in each month; the greatest honour being paid him on that day in his own month. Thus, the 16th of every month is called Mihr-rûz, and belongs to Mihr (that is, Mithra [j]) the regent of the sun and the deputed guardian of the seventh month, Mihr-mah. But the festival which begins on Mihr-rûz in Mihr-mah was with the Magians the greatest of all, except the Naurûz Khassa. It continues six days, the first of which is called Mihraghân âmma or "general feast of Mihr," and the last, Mihraghân Khassa or "particular feast of Mihr." Moreover, the five days called "furtive" by Arabic writers and which are supplementary to the 360 contained in months, had their own peculiar guardians. To these tutelaries of months and days the prayer or praise

And this one day less was so much gained towards exact registration of solar time. For in 140 Julian years (the excess of each above the time of the natural year, being by different computations from eleven minutes and three seconds, to eleven minutes and seventeen seconds) there is more than one day at the end belonging properly to the 141st natural year. Gibbon describes the project of Jelâleddîn as surpassing the Julian and approaching in accuracy the Gregorian style.

[i] See Hyde, *de vet. rel. Pers.* pp. 188, 189.

[j] As *Mitra* or Μιθρα has become in modern Persian *Mihr*; so *Mâda*, in Kissian *Mata*, that is, "Media," has become, it is said, in Arabic *Mâh*, in modern Persian *Mâhi*. See Hyde, p. 424.

considered to be due was diversified on every day of the year, according as it was framed, for different single objects having single titles, on five of the days; for different single objects having double titles on twelve other days; and on the remaining 348 days for different double objects in all the several combinations in which each one of a set of twelve may be successively paired on different days with each of a set of twenty-nine.

That this system of later times was observed at the Persian court so early as the time of Xenophon, and was then described, however erroneously, as a Magian ritual adopted by the great Cyrus, may fairly be inferred from that contemporary of Okhus Darius Nothus, of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and even of Okhus Artaxerxes, where, in his account of the conqueror's measures on taking possession of the throne at Babylon, he remarks, "that when the prosperity of Cyrus had reached a higher point than ever before, he shewed himself more diligent in bringing the service of the gods to a perfect form;" adding that "the establishment of Magi was first created then; and ever at break of day, Cyrus used to sing hymns to the gods; and every day he used to sacrifice to what gods the Magi told him." For our author adds, "In this manner, all that was at that time established, continues to this day, at the residence of whoever may be the king."[k] Thus are we reminded again of the daily chaunt of the Magi in their fire temples of Cappadocia which Strabo had witnessed, and also of the army with which Darius Codomannus was advancing for the first time against the Macedonian invader. Its march was headed by a company of Magi, chaunting ancestral hymns, in attendance upon a sacred fire that was borne on altars of silver; and they were followed them-

[k] See Xenophon, Cyrop. viii. 1. §§ 23, 24. Elsewhere we are told of supplementary sacrifices made to whatever gods the Magi prescribed, over and above Cyrus's own gods. Xenophon may seem to evince the belief that the Magi were no portion of the Medo-Persian nation, where he relates that it was when Cyrus was establishing the Persian kingdom at Babylon, that he made a train of Magi, a permanent addition to the royal household.

selves by 365 youths, attired to represent the days of the year.

But the existence of a Magian ritual, according to which every day in the year had its special liturgical service, is cited to account for an extraordinary resolution which was acted upon (apparently for the first time) between B. C. 210 and B. C. 190; or (as we are most inclined to believe) in the 120th year of the era of the Seleucidæ—that is, in a year beginning in the autumn of B. C. 193, when Media and Persis and Susiana were still provinces of the empire of Antiochus the Great, though Parthia and Bactria had become independent kingdoms.[1]

Within the reign of this Antiochus falls certainly the first attested intercalation by the Magi of a month of 30 days in every 120th year of a period of 1440 years. For, of such a period, the eighth intercalation in the 960th year is related to have been made between A. D. 632 and A. D. 652, during the reign of the last Sassanian monarch of Persia. Now, as to this Magian period of 1440 (or 12 times 120) years, we are informed that it had been devised for the purpose of from time to time re-adjusting to the position which it had occupied in the circle of the seasons at the beginning of the period, the ever-slowly receding circle of the Magian year. For, the intercalation of a Magian month of thirty days in the 120th year restored the 120 quarters of a day which in 120 years the conventional circle of 365 days was computed to have fallen back upon the solar circle.

But why was not the re-adjustment made as soon as ever the calendar year was computed to have fallen back, or to have lost in the reckoning of natural years, a whole day—that is, every fourth year—as was done afterwards in the Julian calendar of Rome and the Alexandrian

[1] The third Antiochus, called "the Great," reigned B. C. 223–187. The first coins of the Seleucidæ which bear a date are coins of this king's. Two are preserved which subjoin to the legend Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου the numbers of the Seleucidan era ϛιβ′ and ϛιζ′—years which began in the autumn B. C. 201 and 196 respectively. See Vaillant and Frœlich, cited by Clinton, F. H. vol. 3, Appendix, chap. 3 "Kings of Syria."

calendar of Egypt? The Magian being exactly such a year as the proper Egyptian year, it would have been easy to fix it by adding a sixth furtive day at the end of every fourth year; as, after the Roman conquest, the Egyptian year became fixed at Alexandria, and as—with an occasional substitution of the last year of a series of five, instead of the last of a series of four, years, for the year of intercalation—the Magian year itself was ordered to be fixed by the Mahommedan ruler, Jelâleddin, in A. D. 1079.

The answer is, Religious scruples were the obstacle. The Magi feared to misappropriate their liturgical services—whether those for the day or those for the month. They feared to render either less or other than his own share of honour and service to any heavenly power—whether guardian of a month or guardian of a day. They refused to intercalate fewer days in a year than might be distributed equally in service to the month-day guardians. This prevented a more frequent intercalation than that of a month of thirty days in the 120th year. But the rights of month-guardians were to be considered likewise. No one of the twelve was to possess the intercalary month exclusively; all were to be honoured alike. The equal claim of each to be guardian of the intercalated month must be satisfied by those whoever they were, that promoted the scheme for doing no less in the matter of the Magian year, than had been effected by the cycles of Meton and Calippus, for the lunar year of the Greeks. Accordingly, the period of twelve times 120 years, was devised, that the month-gods might every one have an intercalary month in his turn; wherein he alone should be adored as lord of the month and which, like his month in every ordinary year, should be called by his name.[m]

[m] In a *Treatise on Years* by the Arabic writer *Nedâmoddîn* (a disciple of Nassireddîn Tusæus) is a passage cited by Hyde out of the notes of Golius *(ad Alfraganium* p. 27) where it is rendered thus, "Religione certâ Persæ (ignorantiæ tempore) cavebant ne intercalarent aliquem anni diem quemadmodum faciunt Rumæi Græci. *Hocque*, inquit Mes'ûdi, *fuit, quoniam eorum dies erant vel félices vel infélices: ideoque*

The Arabic and Persian accounts cited by Hyde, concerning this Magian method of intercalation, do not seem to speak distinctly on the point, whether it was imme-

odio habebant ut diei intercalatione dies felices transferrentur in dies infelices."

Having thus cited Mas'ûdi's account, Nedâmoddîn then proceeds to add this further objection, communicated to him by a certain sage of Shirâz; "Propterea quod *cuique tam mensis quàm appendicum diei* (that is, 'every day whether monthly or supplementary') *esset peculiare quoddam nomen; scilicet cujusdam angeli; et Persis esset pro quovis die peculiaris mussitatio, nomine angeli illius diei; ideoque*, ex illorum sententiâ, *haud recta esset talis eorum mussitatio, si diebus mensis unum diem adderent.*"

The analogous character of the Egyptian and the Magian year, is here further attested. Not only did the Magian like the Egyptian months belong respectively to twelve tutelary gods or angels, but the thirty days twelve times repeated, and the five supplementary or furtive days (the duration of which compensated for the ten hours by which each month's thirty days was calculated to fall short of the time of the passage of the sun through the thirty degrees of each sign of the Zodiac) were consecrated every one to its proper celestial guardian. As to the Egyptian year, Herodotus, ii. 82, informs us, "The Egyptians likewise discovered to which of the gods each month and day is sacred." Whereon Sir J. G. Wilkinson remarks, that this peculiar appropriation may be partly traced in the names of some of the Egyptian months, as Thoth, Athor and Pakhons. He also cites two ancient ceilings (one in the Memnonium at Thebes, the other at Edfoo) where each month has a god appropriated to it. Perhaps these month-gods formed or had once formed, that second order among the Egyptians, "the twelve gods" attested by Herodotus ii. 4, 145. From this consecration of the days to different heavenly personages, as well, probably, as from observation of the numbers of month-days on which notable successes or disasters had occurred, like those recorded at Behistun, days became lucky or unlucky in this or that respect, with both the Magi and the Egyptians. Accordingly, Herodotus in the first-recited passage ii. 82, goes on to say that "the Egyptians found out from the day of a man's birth what he would meet with in the course of his life; and how he would end his days; and what sort of man he would be." The Egyptians had also twelve night hours, and twelve day hours, at least as early as the 20th dynasty, according to Sir J. G. Wilkinson; and seem to have assigned a goddess or female spirit to each. This may have moved them (not the want of exacter astronomical knowledge) to make the fraction a whole sixth hour at the end of the solar year. But by his report of the monumental evidence, we are led to believe that it was to the constellations then rising in the east, that Egyptian astrologers attributed the

morial, having been used like the ordinary year of twelve thirty-day months with five days supernumerary, "ever since the reign of Jemshid," or whether it was a later phase of Magian reckoning. Our belief, however, has been already intimated, that the last is the preferable view of the matter. If so, according to the testimonies adduced by Hyde, upon the period of 1440 years, and the intercalation made in the last of every 120 years of that period (whereby there was an additional month introduced which was named after each ordinary month in succession, first Fervardîn, then Ardibehist, and so on); it is certain that the epoch from which it was resolved to count, when it was agreed that the ever-receding Magian years should be periodically restored to the position they occupied at first in relation to the circle of the seasons, stood somewhere, as we have said, between B. C. 329 and B. C. 309; because they tell us that the intercalation of an eighth month, named (like the ordinary eighth month) Aban (that is to say, the intercalation in the 960th year) happened while Yezdegherd, the last of the Sassanians, was on the

luck of the hour and the minute when any event occurred. And this was the practice of "the Chaldæans," see Cicero *de Divinatione* lib. 1. cap. 1. We will close this note with a conjecture. The priests of Egypt, according to an author cited by Jablonski (in the *Panth. Egypt.* lib. 14. cap. 2 p. 210 referred to by Sir J. G. Wilkinson) though well aware (as we have shewn in a former note, and as their Sothic period founded on observations of the heliacal risings of the Sothis or Dog-star alleged by Sir J. G. Wilkinson might alone convince us) that their year of 365 days was (nearly) six hours short of the true solar year, and therefore being always able to give the true solar time, are said to have inflexibly adhered to the use of the year of 365 days in ordinary calculations, as of men's ages, kings' reigns, and the like, requiring their kings to bind themselves by an oath, never to intercalate any day or month. We suppose that, like the Magi, they feared to disorder the course of their proper daily services in honour of day-guardians, and month-guardians. A religious scruple is ascribed to them by "Geminus the Rhodian who lived in B. C. 77," who, says Sir J. G. Wilkinson, informs us that they retained the vague year "in order that the festivals of the gods in course of time, might pass through the different seasons of the year." See Sir J. G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 17, 373; and *Appendix* to the 2nd book of Herodotus, in Rawlinson's Herod. vol. 2. pp. 284, 285.

throne; while it is also certain that his accession took place some time after the sixteenth of June A. D. 632, and that he was slain in A. D. 652.[n] Now, the only chrono-

[n] 1. On the Magian intercalation and what we would call the *Græco-Magian calendar*, the Persian writer of about A.D. 1400 Mahmûd Shah Kholji in his *Universal Tables* part 2 chap. 4. is cited thus: "Scito epocham Persicam" (he here speaks of the years of the era of Yezdegherd) "esse à fractionibus et embolismis immunem, et in eâ annos esse solares communes, scilicet 365 dierum, et ejusmodi esse in eâ menses quorum singuli sint triginta dierum . . ." (Here he must have mentioned the five furtive days, but Hyde inserts his own, *et cætera*) "Hæc autem epocha ab initio non fuit à fractionibus et embolismis immunis, sed quovis 120mo anno unum mensem intercalabant: id est, unum mensem bis accipiebant; ut eorum 120 anni essent æquales 120 annis Græcorum" (he here seems to own, that the system was set on foot after the Macedonian conquest: however, the *anni Græcorum* are years of the era of Seleucus, which was still in use) "et 5 dies furtivos" (previously mentioned by him no doubt) "addebant fini mensis intercalati. Talis autem mensis intercalatus non fuit certo designatus; sed post 120 annos accipiebant mensem Fervardîn; et post alios 120 annos ad intercalandum accipiebant mensem Ardibehist; et eodem modo donec vices intercalandi ad singulos duodecim menses pervenissent: quod fuit spatio 1440 annorum; quod ab ipsis itaque dictum est *periodus intercalationis*. Hujus epochæ initium fuit tempore Jemshid: et deinde postea à tempore imperii cujusvis regis magni quem habuerunt, epocham renovârunt talis regis nomine." (Can there be here any faint remembrance not only of Darius son of Hystaspes, if he was really a reformer of the Magian worship, but of Antiochus *Magnus?* Or are we to understand that Antiochus and every succeeding king in whose reign an intercalation took place was entitled "great" and gave name to a new era?) "Donec tandem appetente imperio Yezdegherd filii Shahrîyar filii Khosrois, qui ultimus regum Persiæ, ita accidit ut intercalandi vices pervenissent ad mensem Abân; cui itaque adjecti sunt" (the) "quinque furtivi. Cùmque tempore Othmân filii Affân expiraret imperium Yezdegherdi, hæc epocha sub nomine ejus mansit, et postea nulla accidit intercalatio, et dicta regula omissa est. Hinc est quod quidam" (the) "quinque furtivos fini mensis Abân affixerint perpetuo. Sed aliqui astronomorum quinque furtivos ad finem anni rejiciunt, ut Calendariorum scriptio illis facilior sit. Cùmque hæcce epocha ab embolismis et fractionibus sit immunis, et cum epochâ Nabonassari, qui in Almagesto usurpatur, æqualis, hac de causa plerique astronomi eâ utuntur: ideoque et nos meditullia harum tabularum super hacce epochâ fundavimus; cujus initium est feria tertia, 22° die Rabîæ prioris, anno ab Hejrâ 15°." (This number Hyde pronounces an error of the copy for 11°; the Persian words being similar, and this being the well attested date) See Hyde pp. 202, 203.

logical epochs of importance which we are acquainted with, in that former space of twenty years, are two. The first of these is the death of Alexander, or rather, Mid-

2. We must add a citation (through Golius *Ad Alfraganium* p. 27) from a second authority, Kotboddîn, on the old Persian year; "Cùm à Yezdegherdo filio Shahrîyar filii Kosræ, qui Justus cognominatus fuit, *epocha Jezd* instaurata esset, jam addititius ille mensis pertigerat ad *Abân-mah;* elapsis de embolismi periodo annis 960 ; ejusque mensis finem sequebantur Epagomenæ" (the five ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι or "Furtive days") "Postquam vero Persicum imperium illi ereptum esset, tempore Othman filii Affân, quando in domum cujusdam molitoris fugiens ibi interfectus fuit, prope Merv-Shâhjân, quinque illi dies adhæserunt mensi Abân sine ullâ traductione aut embolismo. Ac proinde Persarum alii hosce dies apponunt mensis illius fini, eâdem servatâ constitutione; alii vero fini mensis Isfendârmad, quia hic est anni ultimus." See Hyde p 204.

3. We give now the recital of a statement by Nedamoddîn, the Arabic writer whose "Treatise on Years" has been quoted from the notes of Golius *Ad Alfraganium* in a former note. It appears to be also taken from Golius. "Scilicet annus ille 120^{us} erat 13 mensium, eumque annum vocabant Byhzek et mensem intercalarem vocabant nomine ipsius mensis cujus fini ille addebatur." (We have been told by Shah Kholji, that in the year of intercalation they took the month twice whose turn it was, and we shall find Nedamoddîn presently speak of the doubling of a month) "Mensis autem intercalaris fini adtexerunt quinque epagomenas *ut ipsa hæc additio intercalari mensi signum foret in vicem proximam.* Erat enim intercalatio suo ordine promovenda, de mense in mensem, à Fervardîn ad Isfendârmad; atque hæc dicta fuit *periodus embolimica,* annorum 1440. Atque ita fiebat ut *Nauruz,* et reliqua festa, quæ annorum 120 spatio paullatim suas sedes quasi integrum mensem antevertebant, uno mense geminato in easdem retraherentur." See Hyde, p. 204. Hyde thinks that Nedamoddîn was wrong, and as an Arab he was liable so to err, in supposing that the Persian appellation Bîhîzek, by him made into Byhzek, was applied to the year of intercalation. On this point he has the support of the author whom we are about to quote.

4. Our next extract is from the Turkish writer Khalîl Sûfi. "Bîhîzek est nomen alicujus mensis in epochâ Persicâ qui sic se habuit. Solebant nempe post 120 annos unum integrum mensem intercalare; adeo ut ille annus haberet 13 menses. Dictum mensem Bîhîzek sic intercalatum *ut festum à capite ad calcem celebrabant.*" See Hyde p. 205.

5. We come now to Hyde's esteemed authority Ibn Facreddîn Anjou, the "Indo-Persian" writer, in his *Farhangh Jihanghîri.* He is thus cited: "Bihterek est mensis embolimæus semel in 120 annis; qui annus habebat 13 menses. Et cujuscunque regis tempore accideret, ejusdem

day, November the twelfth B. C. 324, the first day of the year E. N. 425, in which Alexander died, and which (by the Egyptian manner of registering regnal years) was

regis magnificentiam seu magnanimitatem arguebat; isque regum maximus habebatur." (Compare a very similar passage of dubious import above-noted in the extract from Mahmûd Shah Kholji). "Hoc autem credebant de mense Bihterek quando accidebat tempore regis non valde ferocis" (Note, ferocity is greatness in Oriental minds; the barbarities of the rebel king at Delhi, some years ago, and of Nana Sahib at Cawnpore were exhibitions of kingly greatness) "e. g. tempore regis Nushirravâni fuit duplex mensis Ardibehisht." See Hyde p. 205. Hyde thinks that Bihterek is the same as Bîhîzek, but more correctly written. May not Bîhîzek have been the name of the intercalary year, as stated by Nedâmoddîn, and Bihterek the name of the intercalary month? The historical example with which Ibn Fakreddîn Anjou concludes, seems a difficulty. Khosru the first, who reigned from A. D. 531 to A. D. 579, was styled Anushirwan, or "the Generous Mind." But if the year E. S. 960 which began Nov. A. D. 648, was the year of Magian intercalation in the reign of Yezedegherd son of Shahrîyar, the previous year of intercalation E. S. 840 beginning Nov. A. D. 528, belongs to the predecessor of Khosru Nushirwan, if we may trust the dates in Smith's Gr. and Rom. Biog. Dict. Art. *Sassanidæ* No. 21. Another objection: Khosru Nushirwan was one of the greatest of Persian monarchs, and, therefore, does not answer to Ibn Fakreddîn Anjou's description. But the most serious objection to the identity is, that the double month in the seventh intercalary year was not Ardibehist but Mihr. But Ardibehist was the double month in the second intercalary year of the period, that is, (if the period dates from the year E. S. 1) in the course of the year E. S. 240 which began Nov. B. C. 73 when the Parthian Arsakes (called on coins Sanatrokes) the contemporary of the Roman general, Lucullus, seems to have been upon the throne, which he occupied for seven years having after long exile among them been placed there by the Sakaurak "Scythians" at eighty years of age. Perhaps this undistinguished sovereign, received the title of Nushirwan on occasion of the festival of the intercalated month, the second Ardibehist. See Clinton's F. R. vol. 2. p. 255 (*Appendix* chap. 6, "*kings of Parthia*") who says "He (Sanatruces) died within Olymp. 177 (B. C. 72–68)" citing Phlegon (ap. Photium, Cod. 97) also, for his age and length of reign, Lucian *Macrob.* § 15. Clinton makes him the ninth Arsakes, and places his seven years B. C. 75–68.

6. Our last authority is, the Arabic writer Alferganius (or Alfraganius?) p. 5 treating of the Egyptian months: "Olim horum mensium principia respondebant initiis mensium Persicorum; ita ut principium mensis Thoth idem esset cum initio mensis Dejma" (Degh-mah, the tenth Magian month) "et porro mensis quivis, alter cum altero, donec anni

the first year of his successor Philip Aridæus. This appears to be the commencement of a Græco-Egyptian era at Alexandria. The other epoch is that at which the

Ægyptiaci finis conveniret cum fine mensis Adur" (the ninth Magian month): "quod etiam obtinet *in tabulis ad illum tempus constructis.* At menses Ægyptii hodie aliter procedunt, intercalando quarto anno: quare eorum menses jam Persicis dissimiles (sunt); at cum Græcis atque Syriacis" (or Roman months having Macedonian and Syrian names) "congruunt. Primus apud eos dies est 29^{us} Augusti." See Hyde p. 184. Alferganius here speaks of the Alexandrian fixed year which ultimately superseded the vague Egyptian year. The *tables* he mentions must have exhibited parallel years of Yezdegherd and of Nabonassar. For the era of Yezdegherd, as we have shown in a former note, is stated to have begun on Tuesday 15½ June A. D. 632; that is to say, the first day of the first month Fervardîn of the first year of the era, began at noon on the 16th of June: Now, if so, the first day of the month Degh then last past (which was the tenth month of the preceding year, and therefore began ninety days previously) must have begun at 17½ days of March, or noon on the 18th of March. But according to the *Tables* cited by *Alferganius,* the first of the month Degh of the Persians, coincided with the first of the month Thoth of the Egyptians, that is, with the first day of the year of Nabonassar. Now, the first day of Thoth in the year of Nabonassar which commenced A. D. 632, that is, the year E. N. 1380, had fallen back $\frac{1379}{4}$ or 344¾ days of the circle of the Julian or our old style year, behind 25½ days, or noon on the 26th of February, the point whereat the Thoth of the first year of Nabonassar began in B. C. 747. In other words, the year E. N. 1380 began at 17¾, or six hours after noon on the 18th of March old style A. D. 632. Therefore, the coincidence between Degh month of the Persians, and Thoth of the Egyptians which appeared on the tables cited by Alferganius, is found nearly between the Degh of the one in the year which expired in June A. D. 632 and the Thoth of the other in E. N. 1380. The Thoth of E. N. 1380 begins but six hours later than the Degh of the year preceding noon, 16 June A. D. 632. But in A. D. 633, the first day of Thoth and the first day of Degh coincided exactly, beginning equally at noon on the 18th of March. In other words, the first day of the Thoth of E. N. 1381 having receded $\frac{1380}{4}$ or 345 days behind the epoch of the same era in B. C. 747, namely, noon of the 26th of February, began at the same hour of the same day with Degh, the tenth month of the Persian year that preceded noon, 16 June A. D. 633. These, therefore, were the two really contemporaneous calendar years. But if so, there would seem to be two dates erroneously made into one, when it is said that the first of Fervardîn in the first year of Yezdegherd, began at noon of the 16th of the Roman June; so indeed it did in A.D. 633; but

Seleucidan era began. Of the two, the latter alone could be taken into account at Antioch or at Seleucia, either by the Magians or by their rulers, when they were about to intercalate a month for the first time. For, the epoch was undoubtedly nearly 120 years old when intercalation and the mode of it was determined. Such a scheme may have been long contemplated, but a definite resolution, cannot

withal, that the era began in A. D. 632 when the first of Fervardîn must have begun six hours after the noon of the 16th of June. It would seem that there were two epochs assigned for the first of Yezdegherd, which, in the recited statement, are blended together. Some dated the first regnal year of Yezdegherd from the first of Fervardîn in A. D. 632; the first day of a year which had not elapsed when the king died whom Yezdegherd ought to have succeeded, and whom he would have succeeded if he had been then forthcoming. These chronologers went on the rule of Ptolmey's Canon of reigns. Others seem to have dated the first year of Yezdegherd from the first day of Fervardîn in A. D. 633, that is, from the New-year's day that followed next after the death of the king whom Yezdegherd son of Shahrîyar, son of Kesra-Parwiz, should by right have succeeded immediately, though he did not in fact ascend the throne till after the November of A. D. 634 or (at the earliest) in the course of the Magian or Mago-Persian year which began in June A. D. 634. These chronologers who dated Yezdegherd's reign from the first of Fervardîn in A. D. 633, either followed the method of the old Chaldæan tables of regnal years, or they placed the death of the king Ardshir Kesra son of Shiraweh after the 16th June 633. For the date of the death of the king whom Yezdegherd should have succeeded at once, with the names and times of the rulers who actually intervened, 1. a regent Farrukhzâd appointed by the consent of the rival princesses of the blood of Kesra-Anushirwân; 2. a king named both Shahrîrâz son of Shîra son of Shahriâr and Shahrîrân son of Ardshîr son of Shahriâr, descended from Sâbur (Sapor) by a branch collateral to that of Kesra-Parwiz; 3. a queen, Dokht-Zenân, daughter of Kesra-Parwiz; 4. a king, Sâbur son of Shahrirâz; 5. a queen, Arzemidokht, daughter of Kesra-Parwiz; 6. a queen, Burân, daughter of Kesra-Parwîz; see the clear narrative of A. P. Caussin de Perceval in his *Essai sur l' histoire des Arabes*, tom. 3 pp. 402-465 following Tabari and Ibn Khaldoun. He, too, thinks it "possible" that though Yezdegherd (according to Tabari) only began to reign in A. D. 634, the Persians, not owning any of the intervening rulers—either because of their birth or of their sex—put back the reign of Yezdegherd to the epoch of the death of Ardshir third son of Shiraweh son of Kesra-Parwîz. Our own remarks have also shewn, that it is no objection, as he thinks, to this theory, that Tabari places the death of Ardshir in A. D. 633.

be placed (at the earliest) much before B. C. (329–119=) 210, which was about the fourteenth year of the reign of Antiochus the Great, and when the Seleucidan era was about 102 years old. If, then, the period of 1440 years, whereof two-thirds had elapsed at some point of time in the last twenty years of the Sassanian dynasty, was the first of its kind, it cannot be dated from any other epoch than the commencement of the Seleucidan era; and the first intercalation must be placed in the 120th year of the era, either according to the Greeks, who reckoned from the Syro-Macedonian month, Dius B. C. 312, or according to the Chaldæans, who made the reign of the first Seleucus to begin with the Chaldæo-Macedonian Dius in B. C. 311. Just so, according to their manner of registering the commencement of a reign (which we pointed out in the last section) they had probably dated the reign of Philip Aridæus from the autumn of B. C. 323; a year later than the date of its commencement by Ptolemy's Canon of reigns at Babylon.

From this first Magian intercalation, whether in the year beginning with Dius in B. C. (312–119=) 193 or in the year ensuing (when the earliest coins of the Syro-Macedonian kings that are marked with the year of their era, that is, two of Antiochus's dated in the 112th and in the 117th year, were already in circulation) down to the last of the Sassanian line of Persian kings, the whole period may fairly be called the Græco-Magian, or period of the Greek *concordat* in the Magian religion.[o]

[o] The numbers indicating years of some epoch on the Parthian coins have been supposed by Vaillant and others to belong to a proper Parthian era, to denote in fact the age of the monarchy. But others, as Barthélemy, Fréret, Pellerin, Harduin, have reasonably doubted this; and Eckhel who had examined many more Parthian coins than were seen by Vaillant, *has established* (says H. F. Clinton) *by very sufficient arguments* that the years on these coins are of the era of Seleucus; also that these coins (some of which, besides the number of the year, are also inscribed with Macedonian names of months) were issued by some such Greek cities lying within the Parthian empire as Seleucia on the Tigris, or those in Parthia and Media, enumerated by Eckel p. 550, just as the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria must be presumed to have come from a mint or mints in that country, part of which afterwards was acquired

Before we close this section on the Magian year, we must notice a new Persian Calendar ascribed to Yezdegherd himself. One can hardly suppose that a king assailed and despoiled by the fierce swarms of Arab fanatics who propagated the dominion of Mahommed by the sword, could have meant it to supersede the Magian Calendar altogether. It must have been intended, however, for secular use, since its nomenclature calls to mind, not the patrons of months and days, nor the religious services daily and monthly due, but the seasons of the natural year. The Magian New-year's day in the first year of Yezdegherd appears to have been the 16th of the Roman June; but Yezdegherd's new twelve-month began in spring, perhaps at the equinox like the Persian year as reformed more than four centuries afterwards by the Sultân Malek Shah Jelâleddin. The following is the list of names as given and interpreted by Hyde (so far as the defective state of his copy permitted him) on the authority

by the Parthians. See Clinton *Fast. Rom.* vol. 2. pp. 251-253, where also he gives a list of the legends of the Parthian coins, from Eckel tom. 3. pp. 525-538, 541. These legends are all in Greek. The coins hitherto discovered, says Clinton, extend over a space of 245 years from the Seleucidan year 280 to 524; or from B.C. 33-2 to A.D. 212-3. That Seleucia (whose condition in A.D. 36 is described by Tacitus Ann. vi. 42) was at least not the only Greek city where these coins were struck, Clinton proves by the fact, that some are extant, having dates corresponding respectively with the six several years A. D. 41-46, of the very period when that city sustained a Parthian siege. Though Macedonian names of months appear on these coins and the years are numbered from the Seleucidan period, yet since the Greek cities of Roman Asia after adopting the Julian year, retained the Macedonian month-names and the Seleucidan era, the question might be started, whether those within the Parthian borders may not likewise have adopted, some of them and after a time, the Magian year of 365 days with 30 intercalated in each 120th year of the era. The Parthian became a great empire, only under the contemporary of the Greek Eucratides king of Bactria, the 5th Arsaces, Mithridates I. who (after the conquest by his predecessor Phrahates I. of the northern Mardi), subdued Media, Elam, Babylonia, and made the chain of Paropamisus his boundary on the side of Baktria and the Hydaspes his Indian frontier. He reigned till between B.C. 138 and B.C. 130. The last Arsaces Artabanus yielded his power and life to Ardshir the first of the new Persian dynasty, the Sassanians, in A.D. 226.

of a Persian Lexicon much valued by him, the Farhangh Jihânghîri.[p]

1. Mâh-nau (interpreted)		"Mensis novus."
2. Naubahâr	——	"Novum ver."
3. Ghermâ-afzâi	——	"Calorem augens."
4. Rûz-afzâi	——	"Dies augens."
5. Gihân-tâb	——	"Orbem calefaciens."
6. Gihân-ârâi	——	"Orbem adornans."
7. * *	——	* *
8. Khezan	——	"Autumnus."
9. Sermâ-afzâi	——	"Frigus augens."
10. Shab-afzûn	——	"Nortes augens."
11. * * *	——	* * *
12. Sâl-afzûn	——	"Annum augens."

The resemblance of name between the eighth month of this calendar, and the eighth month of the one used by the Jews ever since the Babylonian captivity, deserves attention, because the season of both is the same.

[p] This *Lexicon* is the work of Ibn Fakreddin Anjou, a Mahommedan of India, and is written in Persian. See Hyde pp. 195, 196.